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ANNUAL OF THE AMERICAN
SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

PRINTED FOR THE
AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH IN JERUSALEM AND BAGHDAD
AND UNDER THEIR DIRECTION BY
THE J. H. FURST COMPANY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

THE ANNUAL
OF THE
AMERICAN SCHOOLS
OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

VOL. XIII
FOR 1931-1932



EDITED FOR THE TRUSTEES BY
MILLAR BURROWS AND E. A. SPEISER

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PUBLISHED BY THE
AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH
UNDER THE
JANE DOWS NIES PUBLICATION FUND
NEW HAVEN: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
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SOME GLEANINGS FROM THE LAST EXCAVATIONS AT NUZI *

THEOPHILE JAMES MEEK

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

In the effort to discover what lay beneath the Hurrian city of Nuzi the Harvard-Baghdad School Expedition, with Professor R. H. Pfeiffer as Director, began in 1928-29 the sinking of a shaft in the room known as L4 in the palace area and in the course of the excavation two tablets of the Agade period were found. The expedition of 1930-31, with Mr. R. F. S. Starr as Director and the present writer as Epigraphist, extended this shaft and carried it down to virgin soil. In the course of the excavation over 200 tablets of the early Agade period were discovered, consisting largely of business documents of the kind published by Thureau-Dangin,¹ de Genouillac,² and Lagrain.³ They consist of letters, receipts, records of purchases, of disbursements, of interest due, of instalments received and instalments due, pay rolls, lists of workmen, inventories, and land records; but the tablet of greatest interest in the collection is a map, a photograph of which is published herewith (p. 12). [A preliminary notice appeared in *Bulletin* 42, 7-10.—Ed.]

Concerning the map, it is to be noted first of all that it is oriented, and the words for "west," "east," and "north" appearing on the sides of the tablet ("south" is broken away) are those that are used in the Obelisk of Manishtushu, A IX, 13 ff.,⁴ viz. IM-MAB-TU, IM-KUR, and IM-MIR respectively. Immediately following IM-KUR and separated from it by a small space is manifestly the beginning of another legend, but only the first sign is preserved. This would seem to be *ba*, and is assuredly not *ra*, which one might have expected as the phonetic complement of KUR: but IM-KUR has no phonetic complement in the Obelisk of Manishtushu. Concerning the two mountain ranges on the map, the one to the east and the other to the west, there can be no question: neither can there be any question but that cities are intended by the three inscribed circles. It is thus that cities are regularly

* The present article was submitted to the Editors several months ago, hence no reference could be made to the related studies that have appeared in the meantime. On the subject of *ite* Von Soden has reached independently (cf. ZA, N. F., VII, 138) the same conclusion which is presented in this paper.

¹ *Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes*, and *Inventaire de Tablettes de Tello*, Vol. I.

² *Inventaire de Tablettes de Tello*, Vol. II.

³ *Délégation en Perse*, Vol. XIV.

⁴ Published by Scheil, *DP*, II, 6 ff.

represented on Babylonian maps.³ Unfortunately two of the inscribed circles are badly defaced, but the one in the north-west corner reads very plainly *Maš-gán-bād-ib-la*,⁴ if we read it as Sumerian, or *Maškan-dūr-ib-la*, if Akkadian. As yet we know of no city by that name, but we do know of a city in northeastern Syria called Ibla.⁵ Our map might possibly represent northern Mesopotamia, but it is not very likely. It is more likely that it is a map of some region in the neighborhood of the site where it was found. It is to be noted that several of the place names that appear in the tablets accompanying the map begin with *Maš-gán*, although *Maš-gán-bād-ib-la* itself never appears. In the tablets, however, there is a place name *Gu-zi-adki*, and there is the possibility that *Gu-zi-ad* is the inscription within the circle in the north-east corner of the map. Unfortunately only the last sign *-ad* is distinct, the other two being too badly defaced to be read with any certainty. The inscription in the third circle, toward the southern side of the map, begins *Bi-ni-za*. . . . The last two signs are too indistinct to be read. In the center of the map is a small circle with no inscription, but with a slight depression within it, half round and half square. To the right of this circle is the following inscription: 10 *bur* 10 *bur* minus 6 *gán ma₄-a*, i. e., "180 + 180 — 6 (354) *gan* or *iku* of cultivated land." To the right of the circle is an inscription which may or may not be a continuation of the other. It may be read in one of two ways, *ša-at-a-za-la* or *ša-ad a-za-la*. If we follow the first reading, there are still two possible interpretations, either to take the phrase as one word *Šāt-azala*, or as two *šāt Azala*. The latter may be preferable because the inscription appears in two lines, thus separated. In that case *šāt* would be the feminine relative pronoun, with *ma₄-a*, construed as feminine, as its antecedent. *Azala* could then be a place name or a personal name. Comparison with the map published by Langdon⁶ would suggest that it is a place name, but no area is delimited for "the cultivated land," as areas are on his map. If *Azala* is a city name, one naturally thinks of *Azalla* in southeastern Syria

³ See, e. g., Langdon, "An Ancient Babylonian Map," *Museum Journal*, VII, 263-8; CT XXII, 48.

⁴ A restricted form of Thureau-Dangin's system of transliteration has been followed throughout this article. For example, I do not give *dē* the value *te₄*, as Thureau-Dangin does, nor *ti* the value *dī*, nor *zu* the value *zū*. To do so is to rob early Akkadian of certain of its dialectic features and these it is important to retain. For this the early attempts to make the language of the Assyrian letters read as Babylonian ought to be sufficient warning.

⁵ It is mentioned, for example, on an inscription of Sargon of Agade, Poebel, *PBS*, IV, 177. For its location see, e. g., Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Excavations, Texts*, I, 78 ff.; Lewy, *ZA*, N. F. IV, 261 ff.; Landsberger, *ZA*, N. F. I, 233 ff.

⁶ *Museum Journal*, VII, 263 ff.

south of Ibla," and rather strikingly Azala on our map is south and east of Mušgan-bad-ibla. It is very questionable, however, whether the two are to be identified. It is more likely that Azala is to be taken as a personal name and that the area within the circle is intended to represent the 354 *iku* of cultivated land belonging to the man Azala. Then there is the possibility that the phrase is to be read *Šul-azala*, in which case it may be a place name or a personal name. There are no place names in our texts beginning with *šul*, nor does it seem appropriate as a first element in a place name. On the other hand, *šul* is a common first element in personal names and appears once in our texts, in the name *Šul-ura*. However, there is still the possibility that the correct reading of the phrase is *ša-ad .1-za-la*, and this would seem to receive some support from certain phrases that appear in the Obelisk of Manishtusu, *ša-ad (Gu-ni-zi)* (B VI, 10), *ša-ad Bar-ri-in-ki* (C XII, 3; XV III, 31), and *ša-ad Mi-l-ki-im* (D VII, 11). The word for "mountain" in our texts and in other texts of the Agade period is regularly *sa-lu*, not *šul-lu*, so the word *šul* both on our map and the Obelisk of Manishtusu may very well have the meaning "field" — Hebrew אֲדָמָה, as Jensen has suggested for the latter occurrences.⁹ This assuredly would be an excellent meaning for the word on the map and may possibly be accepted. In that case the circle would represent "the field of Azala," containing "354 *iku* of cultivated land." If the circle does not represent the cultivated land, it must be the whole map that does so, or the area between the western hills and what appears to be a river. Since 354 *iku* only equal a little more than 300 acres, this does not seem likely, so the circle would seem to indicate the field of Azala, which name again may be a personal name or a place name. Comparison with the occurrences of *šul* in the Obelisk of Manishtusu already referred to might suggest that it is a place name, since the second element in *šul Bar-ri-in-ki* is assuredly that, but it would seem more likely that it is a personal name. The map was found in a collection of tablets largely of a business character, so it manifestly must have had some business purport, and the notation "354 *iku* of cultivated land" would seem to confirm this. Apparently then, the map was prepared to indicate the location of an estate belonging to Azala, but this of course is not certain.

Running through the center of the map, apparently from north to south, is what appears to be a river or irrigation canal, inscribed *Ra-ki-am*, "the fructifier." By three channels it empties apparently out of a larger body of

⁹ See, e.g., Streck, *Assurbanipal*, III, 773; Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, p. 22.

¹⁰ ZA, XX, 293.

water, where broken lines would seem to indicate waves. Unfortunately the legend on this is broken. The last sign is definitely *gi* and the first sign seems to be *gur*, to give the name *Gur-gi*. Along the whole course of this body of water, if it is that, a narrow rectangular space has been ruled off by the scribe as a *kibirtu*, upon which he has written the legend IM-MIR, "north." He has no *kibirtu* ruled off for the other directions, so that this and the region marked with broken lines may have been intended to represent an indefinite, undefined area in the north, the source of the water supply. Some distance along the course of the river or canal is another one flowing into it, also bearing a legend, unfortunately partly obliterated. The last two signs are *-ru-um*; the sign immediately preceding these may be *da* or *hu*, and the one preceding this may be *im*. Since the streams seem to get wider toward the north, they may flow from south to north and northwest rather than in the opposite direction, but in that case it is hard to explain the branching off of one stream around the western hills. However, if the streams are irrigation canals, that of course is possible; but the apparent widening of the streams may be due to the defective drawing of the scribe.

With the data at our disposal it is impossible to locate with certainty the region depicted by the map, but the names on it do suggest some intriguing possibilities. *Gur(?)*-*gi* in the north is suggestive of the country Gurgum, which lay north of Syria. *Mašgan-bad-ibla*, as we have already noted, suggests Ibla in northeastern Syria, and *Azala* is all but identical with *Azalla* in southeastern Syria, not far from Palmyra. *Rahium* can very well be an abbreviated form of *Raḥi-ilu*,¹¹ a town on an island in the Euphrates, situated below the point where the *Ḫabar* flows into the Euphrates; and the second of the two branches represented on the map as flowing out of the north may be the *Ḫabar*, the other above it being the *Baliḫ*. In that case the main stream would be the Euphrates and that flowing from the western hills to join it would be the *Wadi Hauran*. The thing that makes these possibilities all the more intriguing is the fact that the names are all correctly placed on the map, and the mountains in the east would be the Zagros and those in the west would be the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. The fact that the Tigris is not represented need not militate against the interpretation. Its omission is surprising, but no more so than many features of the British Museum map already referred to (CT XXII, 48), which likewise omits the Tigris. The author of the map was centering his attention on the western part of northern

¹¹ Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh*, p. 33, l. 33, *uluRa-ḥi-i-lu*, with which Gadd would identify *uluRa-ilu* in the inscription of Šamaš-rēš-ašar in Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, No. 5, IV, 1.

Mesopotamia and the attempt to depict this region is as good as a rough sketch of that early time could be. This is the interpretation that appeals rather strongly to Sidney Smith of the British Museum, and for some of its details I am indebted to him. He does not commit himself to it, of course, but regards it only as a possibility; and a very alluring one it is.

On the other hand, if the map actually belongs to the collection of business records among which it was found, as seems likely, it must depict some region covered by these records, and that is a very extensive one, running all the way from Ashur on the west to Simarra, Hamazi and Lulubum on the east, and as far south as Agade. The map may depict a district anywhere in this area, but the probability is that it is a district somewhere between the Zagros Mountains and the chain of hills running north and south through Kirkuk. The river flowing out of the north may be the Lower Zab or the Radhum, and the other coming round the western hills may be the Tigris. In any case what we have is a map, the finest and oldest known to us. No other is so well executed; the map in the British Museum is crude beside it, and the charts of the Agade period published by Thureau-Dangin,¹² although similar, are not, strictly speaking, maps, nor do they compare with this one in detail and technique.

Next to the map the tablet of greatest interest in the Akkadian collection from Nuzi is a beautifully preserved letter, written in Old Akkadian, as are practically all the texts. It runs as follows:¹³

Transliteration

Obv. 1. *en-ma da-da* 2. *a-na i-li* 3. *ki-ki-ma* 4. *še'am* (ŠE) *ša a-na eprim* (ŠE-BA) 5. *a-si-tu* 6. *a-na zēria* (ŠE-NI₂) 7. *li-sa-mr-ut-ma* 8. *li-li-in* 9. *ū ša-a-ma* 10. *si-na-ur-e-i-iki* 11. *a-ti du-ai-iš*. Rev. 12. *še'am* (ŠE) *la i-na-ḥa-rn* 13. *in kir-bi-sa* 14. *a-na eprim* (ŠE-BA) *li-li-in* 15. *a-na-ga a-gu-sa-ar* 16. *ū ba-ni na-a-ū-ni* (ENGAR-ENGAR) 17. *li-zu-ar-ma* 18. *e-ri-su-ku* 19. *li-zu-rn da-ni-iš* 20. *ū a-na upa-ba-ba* 21. *uār zu-zu eprim* (ŠE-BA) *a i-ti-in* 22. *a-na ai-ki-im-di šum-ma* 23. *e-ra-si-iš na-lu* 24. [2ē]raw ([ŠE]-NU₂) *li-zi-ik*. Left Edge. 25. *sa₁-be-la*.

Translation

(1-8) Thus (says) Dada: to li speak: The barley, which as rations I had left over, let him use as seed-grain and give it out. (9-15) However, if

¹² *RTT*, pp. 66 ff.; *RA*, IV, 20 ff., 53 ff.

¹³ This and the other texts of the collection will shortly be published by the present writer in the *Harvard Semitic Series*.

the people of Simurru do not receive sufficient barley, let him give (them) some of it as rations; I will make it good. (16-19) Also, let him guard (look after) the persons of the cultivators, and let them look diligently after their cultivation. (20-25) Moreover, to Pû-Babu, the son of Zuzu, he is not to give rations for storing. If (the time) is suitable for sowing, let him leave the seed-grain. Send (this).

NOTES

1-3. *cu-ma* *ki-bi-ma*. For *cu-ma* Langdon, *RA*, XXIV, 90, has suggested the meaning "word, command" = *cum*, but in view of its present connection with *gibi* it is manifestly Old Akkadian for the later *um-ma*. In all the other early Akkadian letters that I know, the introduction is simply *cu-ma* A *a-na* B, but in our collection all the letters begin *cu-ma* A *a-na* B *ki-bi-ma*, which introduction is found elsewhere only in the Cappadocian letters, absolutely identical with it except that *um-ma* appears in place of the earlier *cu-ma*. For the phonetic change, *cu-ma* > *um-ma*, one may compare *cudu* > *udu*, "when," or **immu* > *ummu*. The word *cu-ma* is manifestly then to be identified with Can.-Heb. *heu*, Arab. *hu*, *inna*, as Professor Albright has suggested to me.

4. SE-BA = *epum* means strictly barley given as wages, but there seems to be no better word than "rations" to translate it into English. Wages according to the texts in our collection were paid exclusively in kind, usually grain of some sort.

5. *a-si-tu* is Pret. P of *situ*, with the overhanging *a* of the relative clause, here introduced by *an*, l. 4. This is the regular construction for the relative clause in our texts and never once is the affirmative *-ni* used, as it is elsewhere in early Akkadian texts¹⁴ along with *-u*.¹⁵ The orthography, *a-si-tu*, might suggest a late date for our texts. In accord with the apparent usage of Old Akkadian¹⁶ one might have expected *a-si-tu* in place of *a-si-tu*, but this verb with its derivative *situm*, which appears a number of times in our texts, is always found with *s*, suggesting that the *s* is *š*, not *s*, and this is confirmed by the later forms, *situ*, *situ*. That our texts belong to the early Agade period rather than the later is suggested by the fact that the preposition "against, over" is always written *al* rather than *eli*, into which form it developed at least by the time of Sargulisharri.¹⁷

7. *li-sa-me-id-ma* is III¹ of *emēdu* and, except that it is jussive, it is identical with the form *ú-sa-mi-id* in Poebel, *PBS*, IV, 204, l. 20, which form is not to be derived from a supposed root *samādu*, as Ungnad is inclined to feel.¹⁸ The III¹ of *emēdu*, as its Sumerian equivalent in Poebel, *i-sid*, would indicate and as Bezold for the permissive form has seen,¹⁹ means "to set aside, designate, reckon, use," for some particular purpose.

10. *si-mu-ur-ri-ú-ki*, plural gentilic. Simurru is to be located in the vicinity of the

¹⁴ See Ungnad, *MTAG*, XX, 2, p. 68.

¹⁵ For an example elsewhere see Barton, *PBS*, IX, No. 22, Rev. 4, *i-ba-šè-ú*, "(which) is outstanding," a common phrase in our texts.

¹⁶ See Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XXIII, 28.

¹⁷ See S. Smith, *JRAS*, 1932, p. 300, n. 14.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁹ *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar*, p. 39b.

modern town of Altyn Köprü, but not in the town itself because there is no mound there; cf. Meissner, *OLZ*, 1919, Sp. 69.

11. *u-ti da-ni-š* = *adi daanik*, "abundantly, sufficiently." Old Akkadian did not discriminate carefully between the voiced and voiceless stops, but confused the two, as did Old Assyrian, Cappadocian, Hurrian, and certain other languages.

13. *in kir-bi-su*, "from its midst," with *ir'ana* as the antecedent of the pronominal suffix; or "from his midst," i.e., "some of his own," with *li* as the antecedent.

15. *u-na-gu u-ga-sa-ar* = *unaku akšar*.

16. *ba-ni* = *pa-ni*, "face, person," used as in Ungnad, *UIG*, VI, No. 1, 17. I owe this reference to Professor Langdon.

17. *li-za-ar*, normal Old Akkadian for *liggar*.

18. *ri-su-uu* = *riššunnu*.

20 f. *mu-ba-ba nuur zu-zu*. Iterative names like these are very common in all the texts from the Agade period and also in the Cappadocian tablets. The iterative device may have been foreign in origin, because it tended to pass into disuse as foreign influences from the north and east declined, but iterative names are not necessarily foreign, as some have supposed. They are found in Sumerian, Semitic, Khamite, Egyptian, and other languages.

22. *ni-ki-in-di*, manifestly gen. of *nikeutu*, *arkeutu*, Bezold, *Glossar*, p. 197b. Mimetic is sometimes omitted in Old Akkadian, as here.

23. *ra-si-š nu-tu*, the full. *rašu* = *rišu* plus *š*, construed with *nuti*, *nutū*; cf. Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, p. 80, l. 94; p. 170, l. 28, and Schott, *MUG*, XXX, 2, pp. 54, 125, 223. For these references I am again indebted to Professor Langdon.

25. In a script much more lightly and more sharply incised than that appearing on the rest of the tablet there appears on the left edge the one word *ar-bi-tu*, III¹ imper. of *rabālu*, "cause to be conveyed, send," having reference apparently to the letter. The word may also be transliterated *ar-bi-tu*, in which case it would be identical with *ar-bi-tu* that is found so frequently in the Cappadocian letters, to make another link between early Akkadian and Cappadocian.

The personal names in this letter are typical of the 500 others that appear in the records, many of them being iterative names, reduplicating one syllable. Comparatively few of the names are Sumerian; most of them are West Semitic and Akkadian, and relatively few of them are foreign. Very few, if any, Hurrian names appear, and in this respect the tablets differ very decidedly from those discovered in the upper strata of the mound, which belong to the Hurrian city of Nuzi. The excavations showed a decidedly different culture for the city in the Agade period and it had manifestly an entirely different name, the indications being that it was called *Gu-sārki*, if that is the correct way to transliterate the second sign, *sag* plus *gunu*. In one text the name is written, apparently by accident, with *sag* not geminated, *Gu-sagki*, in which form it appears in *Kritischrichtete aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, II, No. 1, 5,²⁰ a votive inscription of a certain Ititi of Ashur, record-

²⁰ On my request Professor Andrie, Director of the State Museum in Berlin, very kindly had one of his staff, Dr. Falkenstein, check this reading for me.

ing the dedication of a certain object "out of the booty of Gasur"²¹ to the goddess Ishtar. This is the only reference to the city outside of our collection and rather interestingly the name Ititi appears a number of times in our texts. Our excavations showed that Gasur was eventually destroyed by fire and Ititi of Ashur may have participated in that destruction of the city.

In this burnt-over stratum, 2.86 meters above the topmost stratum in which the Agade texts were found, a letter was discovered in 1928-29 which is definitely Cappadocian, having identically the same script, with the peculiar slant to the right, and all the other features of the Cappadocian texts, like the use of the short vertical wedge as a word divider. The letter begins as follows: [a]-ua wa-ar-di-l[i-š]u [ki]-bi-ma um-ma ú-du-li-ma, i. e., "To War(a)dilišn speak: Thus (says) Uduli." So far as I know, this is the only tablet, strictly Cappadocian, that has been found outside Asia Minor, and it must have been sent from Cappadocia to Nuzi. In the same stratum as the Cappadocian letter there were discovered in 1930-31 several other tablets in a very fragmentary state, one in the script of the First Dynasty of Babylon and the others in a script practically identical with the Cappadocian, but lacking the slant of the truly Cappadocian. They are probably to be compared with the unpublished building inscription from Ashur mentioned by Forrer in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, 235b, which in orthography, language and personal names, he says, can be regarded as Cappadocian. These tablets and the Cappadocian letter indicate that there were trade relations between Cappadocia and northern Mesopotamia, and taken with other data they suggest that the "Cappadocians" and the Assyrians, as we can call the dominant Semitic stock in northern Mesopotamia, had a common origin. The presence of a large number of West Semitic names in the two groups would indicate that both came ultimately from the West, and after their settlement, the one north of the Taurus Mountains and the other to the south, they seem to have maintained at least some relations with each other.

The Cappadocian texts so far discovered come from a period at least 400 years later than the time of the Agade texts from Gasur (Nuzi), but the likeness between them is striking. The script is of course very different, but many of the personal names are identical, surname elements like *mār* appear in both, many of the god names are the same, and iterative names both for gods and men are very common in both. The only outstanding difference between the personal names is the fact that the god Ashur is a very common

²¹ Rather strangely Luckenbill, *Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, I, 11, translates the phrase in *sa-la-ti ga-sag-ki* "with fervent prayer." In the *Altorientalische Bibliothek*, I, 2, *ga-sag-ki* is transcribed *ga-riäki*.

element in the Cappadocian names, whereas he never once appears in the Gasur names, even though the city of Ashur was not far distant and is several times mentioned in the texts, always written *A-šar-ki* (the earliest reference to the city so far known). That there were at least some citizens of Ashur in the population is evident from the reference in several texts to *Ahu-tāb* of Ashur, and the people of Gasur must have been essentially the same as those at Ashur. The god appears in the Cappadocian texts from Nuzi (Gasur) mentioned above, and his omission in the early texts would seem to indicate that he had not yet appeared, making the city name older than the god name, or else knowledge and worship of him had not spread as far as Gasur in Agade times, and that would seem unlikely. That he appears so often in Cappadocian names would suggest that the early relations between the "Cappadocians" and Assyrians had continued into the later period and Assyrian influence was such that the god Ashur was brought in and received with open arms.

In the discussion of the Old Akkadian letter edited above we noted the fact that the introduction is identical with one that often appears in the Cappadocian letters, an introduction that is found only in Old Akkadian and Cappadocian. Another striking link between the two languages is the fact that the Cappadocian preposition *iš-ti* (also found in Old Assyrian) is identical with the Old Akkadian *iš-dè*, which word has heretofore been universally misunderstood by scholars. Thureau-Dangin²² does not venture a transliteration or an explanation; Legrain,²³ followed by Scheil,²⁴ transliterates the word as *iš-qum* and gives it the meaning "portion, don, revenue"; Barton²⁵ takes it as a verbal form, *iš-ue*, "changed"; and Ungnad²⁶ is very uncertain both as to its transliteration, *iš-bi*(?), and its meaning. He does suggest, however, that the word may be a preposition, and that is what it is. In early Akkadian texts *dè* interchanges with *ti*, as is evidenced among other things by the fact that the personal name *A-ga-dè-um* ("The Akkadian") in our texts appears also as *A-ga-ti-um*. Accordingly, *iš-dè* = *išti*, the Cappadocian form, written *iš-ti*, and both = Babylonian *itti*, "with, from."^{26a} A common meaning of both *išde* and *išti* is "from," and because this is so in

²² *ITT*, I, 3. In *Les Homophones Samariens*, p. 45, however, he transliterates the word correctly, *iš-te*, (= *išti*), following a suggestion of Landsberger.

²³ *DP*, XIV, 74.

²⁴ *RA*, XXII, 154.

²⁵ *PBS*, IX, 21.

²⁶ *MVAG*, XX, 2, p. 42.

^{26a} The preposition *išti* = *itti* actually appears in a text as late as Darius I; see Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, I, No. 73, 2.

the case of the Cappadocian *išti*, Contenau equates it with *ištu*,²⁷ but this preposition appears regularly as *iš-lù* in the Cappadocian texts and as *iš-tum* in the Gasur and other early Akkadian texts,²⁸ and *išde*, along with *išti*, has the meaning "with" ²⁹ as well as "from." ³⁰ In that case *iš-dè* = *iš-lù* must be equated with the preposition *ilù*, which has both meanings, rather than with *ištu*, which means only "from," and this is supported by the circumstance that the Assyrian form of the preposition, *issi* = *ilti*, appears to have developed from *išti*.

These striking likenesses between Cappadocian and Old Akkadian, taken along with others,³¹ indicate some definite connection between the "Cappadocians" and the early migrants from the West into northern Mesopotamia. This, too, is the testimony of several tales about Sargon and Naram-Sin in their relations with Asia Minor,³² particularly the famous *šar lamh̄ari* epic about Sargon. This, like the other tales, is partly legendary, but it is clearly based on an actual campaign by Sargon into Cappadocia, where, we learn, there was a considerable Akkadian population. The two groups manifestly had close connections with each other from very early times, and hence must have had a common origin, or else the "Cappadocians" were early emigrants from northern Mesopotamia into Asia Minor.

It is rather striking that in different parts of Mesopotamia and in different periods of her history we should have such a variety of month names. For example, those used in the Agade period seem never to have been used again. Those already known are listed by Scheil, *R.A.*, XXII, 153. Of these the Gasur tablets repeat one name, *arab̄iq-zum*, and they add three new names, viz., *arab̄ha-ni-id*, *arab̄zu-lul*, and *arab̄gu-da-lùl* (?). The first of these appears

²⁷ *Trente Tablettes Cappadociennes*, p. 107.

²⁸ For the latter see Ungnad, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

²⁹ An example from the Gasur texts is *gēnam* (Z1-SE) *šu iš-dè-su li-zu-ur*, "the barley-meal, which is with him, let him guard." An example from other Agade texts is *ITT*, I, No. 1471, 3 ff.: *iš-dè lugal-ušumgal u-ša-ab*, "he is dwelling with Lugal-ušumgal." Professor Langdon tells me that "with" is the regular meaning of *išde* in the Agade texts from Kish, as yet unpublished.

³⁰ An example from the Gasur texts is one in which we read that a certain quantity of barley "from Sirul (*iš-dè si-ir-ni*) Galili and Atē, two merchants, in Mashgaukigal received" (*im-hur*). An example from other Agade texts is Legrain, *DP*, XIV, No. 13, 4 ff.: "one quarter shekel of silver from Hl-ill, the overseer (*iš-dè ti-ti-ili nu-banda*), Mihusu, the messenger, in Surgulu received" (*im-hur*).

³¹ For some of these see, e. g., Lewy, *Studien zu den assyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien*, pp. 43 ff.; S. Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, pp. 149 f.

³² These in their historical bearing are fully discussed by S. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 ff.; see also the literature quoted by him, p. 375.

twice and is so much like *arabha-ni-i* that appears in *RTU*, No. 117, Rev. 4, that the last sign in the latter, *i*, must surely be a mistake for *id*, and the name should doubtless read *arabha-ni-i[d]*.²³

Among the finds in the temple area of Nuzi during the season 1930-31 was a hoard of bronze objects,²⁴ one of which is a sickle bearing the inscription *du₄-za*. We know of no god by that name, but Professor Langdon, on the basis of Thompson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, No. 103, Obv. 11, and CT XII, 26a, 21, has suggested to me that *du₄-za* may be the phonetic reading of dLĀJAB. In CT XII, 26a, 21, he would restore *ū-[uz]* | LĀJAB | *lah-r[u]*,²⁵ but on the basis of the Yale Syllabary, 91, *ū* | LĀJAB | [*lah-ru*], it would seem more likely that no restoration at all is necessary in the first column and that LĀJAB is not to be pronounced *uz* or *uzu*. If we know of no god by the name of *uzu*, we do know of a constellation by this name, *mutuza*, the pronunciation of which is given by a gloss in Thompson, *op. cit.*, No. 212, Obv. 1, *mu-ūū-za*; and *mutuza* in No. 207, Rev. 7, is equated with *dilbat*. It would appear, then, that *du₄-za* of the Nuzi inscription is to be identified with the goddess Dilbat or Ishtar, and the temple at Nuzi would accordingly seem to have been dedicated to that deity. The bronze objects in the hoard (sickles, sun-disks, moon-crescents, bell, bracelets, toggle pins, etc.) would then be paraphernalia used in her worship.

²³ I have written to the Constantinople Museum to have Thureau-Daugin's copy checked, but to date I have received no reply to my request.

²⁴ See *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 42, p. 4.

²⁵ *PBS*, X, 268, n. 3, where 22 should read 21.



MAP FROM NUZI.

ETHNIC MOVEMENTS IN THE NEAR EAST IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B. C.

THE HURRIANS AND THEIR CONNECTIONS WITH THE LABIRU AND THE HYKSOS

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(DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF EDWARD CHIERA)

I. Introductory.

Seven years ago the *ANNUAL* came out with its first discussion of the Hurrians, in a joint article by Edward Chiera and the present writer, entitled "A New Factor in the History of the Ancient East."¹ Prior to the middle 'twenties Assyriologists had little provocation to concern themselves with the rôle of the Hurrians in Mesopotamia. The presence of that people in the country was attested, to be sure, by the occurrence of their peculiar proper names in a number of cuneiform documents. A certain relationship between the bearers of those names and the speakers of the principal language of the Mitanni had also been established. But the element was demonstrably foreign in Babylonia and there was no reliable information as to the part which it had played in ancient Assyria. Its infiltration was generally considered to be the inevitable result of trade relations with the north-west. The prediction of massed settlements of Hurrians to the north of Akkad would have been branded as visionary.²

With the publications of the tablets from the district of Kirkuk (ancient Arrapha) by Contenau³ and Gadd⁴ the situation was radically altered. Here was definite proof that the Hurrians were well established in the area east of the Tigris. Frequent references to this ethnic group in the archives from Boghazköi helped to place the whole matter in a different light.⁵ With scarcely a note of warning, the area dominated by this people was seen to

¹ *ANNUAL* VI, 75-92, which gives an account of the older literature on the subject.

² Pioneering work on the subject was done by Ungnad; cf. *BA* VI, 5, pp. 8 ff., and *Kulturfragen*, I, pp. 4-7.

³ *Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre* IX, 1-46.

⁴ *BA* XXIII, pp. 49-161. For the other scattered "Kirkuk" texts cf. Koschaker, *Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna-Zeit*, 9, n. 1. For general discussions of the material available at the time see Contenau, *Babyloniaca* IX, nos. 2-4, and Gadd and Koschaker, *op. cit.*

⁵ The Boghazköi material is now listed by Sommer in his *Akkad-Urkunden*, 42 ff.

expand at an alarming rate; many of our previous notions as to the balance of power in the Amarna period had to be rapidly readjusted so as to make room for "Mitannian" influences in eastern Anatolia and in Arrapha.⁶ There was even danger to Palestine from the same quarter.

When our article was published in the *ANNUAL* of 1926, we had not seen the related studies of Gadd and Contenan; the three essays appeared practically at the same time. We had, however, at our disposal the rich material from Nuzi, in south-west Arrapha, which Dr. Chiera had discovered in the course of his first campaign on that site. More than a thousand tablets had been found during that initial season, as compared with approximately one-tenth of that number in the museums of London, Paris, and Berlin. Subsequent campaigns were to make correspondingly large contributions to the rapidly growing Nuzi collection.⁷ By its sponsorship of the Nuzi excavations the American School in Baghdad became thus a vital factor in the study of the Hurrian migrations. It would be difficult to overestimate in this connection the part played by Dr. Chiera, the discoverer and decipherer of the Nuzi documents. His untimely death has just removed from American Assyriology one of its most brilliant and vivid personalities. May these pages serve as a sincere, even though wholly inadequate, tribute to his memory.

At the time of its appearance the title of our joint contribution may have seemed somewhat pretentious; I trust, however, that the tone of our presentation was sufficiently restrained to modify such an impression. Our purpose was to give a brief description of the contents of the tablets together with a tentative analysis of their historical implications. Since then progress in the field has been so rapid that a fresh analysis is now imperative. Earlier discussions must now be supplemented or modified. Our additional information

⁶ Anglicized spelling of foreign names is employed in this paper wherever possible. This is generally the case with the several laryngals represented by *h*. Diacritical marks will be found only in philological discussions and in native terms; hence Hurri, but Hurrian, etc. In Arrapha, however, the mark is necessary to prevent confusion of the *ph* with the *f*-sound.

⁷ So far there have been published five volumes of Nuzi texts discovered by American expeditions; four by Chiera (*Publications of the Baghdad School*, vv. I-III, and *Harvard Semitic Series V*), and one by Pfeiffer, *HSS IX*. Additional tablets from the Louvre have been published recently by Contenan, *RA* XXVIII, 27-39. Among the recent philological studies of these texts may be listed Kramer's *The Verb in the Kirkuk Tablets*, *ANNUAL* XI, 63-119, and two essays by the present writer in the *ANNUAL* X, 1-73, and *JOS* 52, pp. 350-367; 53, pp. 24-46. Excellent legal discussions will be found in Kosschaker, *op. cit.*, and in his contribution to the *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* XLII, no. 1. There is also a considerable number of minor articles.

is for the most part the result of work done, or made available, within the last two or three years. It is time to survey the situation and to consolidate our gains, so to speak. Our working theories of a few years ago have become certainties by this time, or else been adjudged untenable. Parenthetically, the proportion of the latter is agreeably modest. With a wider and firmer foundation of fact to rely upon, the scope of these investigations may be now legitimately extended.⁸ If the purely theoretical increment is proportionate and gradual, the expansion is not likely to prove too venturesome.

The argument which this paper wishes to pursue will fall thus naturally into two parts. Relevant facts will be reviewed in one section and the partly tentative superstructure will be confined to the other. In other words, the question of the Hurrians themselves will be taken up first, while the problem of interrelations with such migratory groups as the Habiru and the Hyksos will be left for the latter part. As regards the Hurrians, the historical situation is now clear in its main outlines; precision in terminology and a narrowing of the chronological limits of their migrations may be listed as the outstanding desiderata. But the part of the Hurrians in the extensive movements of peoples during the second millennium B. C. still remains to be determined. Their participation in these wanderings is definite and beyond dispute; the extent, however, and the nature of their relations with the other groups in question continue to call forth widely divergent estimates and interpretations. In a study such as the present one an inquiry into the matter cannot be avoided.

The foregoing remarks have defined the character of this paper. The problems are mainly ethnic and historical and the methods to be employed will be adjusted accordingly. Philology and archaeology will furnish their quotas of source material, but the arrangement cannot be modeled very well after linguistic or archaeological studies. Pertinent details from both departments will continue to appear in their own settings.⁹ In fact, owing to the importance of the subject and the constant additions to our sources, the number of contributors is steadily on the increase.

⁸ A previous attempt at such an elaboration was made by the writer in *Mesopotamian Origins*, ch. V. It is probably the result of "making many books" that much of what has been written is not read at all. At any rate, a number of our conclusions have independently been duplicated by others, years after the appearance of our publications. While it is undoubtedly flattering to find oneself in agreement with prominent scholars, it is in sheer self-defense that certain claims to priority are herewith asserted, invidious though the task may be.

⁹ With the publication of fragments of Hurrian vocabularies by Thureau-Dangin, *Syria*, 1931, pp. 234 ff., the problem of Hurrian phonology has become acute. I hope to take part in the discussion in the near future.

II. Hurri.

In the earlier stages of Hurrian studies the most pressing problem was to recognize Hurrian material in the extant epigraphical sources, in order to determine the spread of that group in the culture lands of the Near East. Today there is scarcely any difficulty on the onomastic side and, consequently, the geographical boundaries can be established with a gratifying degree of certainty. Through our knowledge of Hurrian proper names we have arrived at the realization that the people in question were to be found, for the better part of the second millennium, scattered all the way from Anatolia to Elam and from Armenia to Egypt, interspersed with other ethnic elements or settled in colonies of their own. It is manifest that mere recognition of certain linguistic features need not presuppose thorough understanding of the language as a whole. We shall not be in a position to interpret Hurrian documents with reasonable confidence until the available material has become much more abundant than it is thus far. Nor can we hope for the time being to do justice to the dialectic differences within the language, which are inevitable over so wide an area as the Hurrians are known to have occupied. Hurrian sources from Nuzi, Ras esh-Shamra, and Boghazköi, naturally have their local peculiarities. These must for the time being be filed away for future consideration; as yet they cannot be adequately analyzed. But it is perfectly obvious that we are confronted in each case with members of the same ethnic group. Thus while a comparative study of Hurrian must await further developments, the time is ripe for an examination of the historical rôle of the Hurrians on a broader basis than has been possible heretofore. Philological and historical methods have come here to a parting of the ways.

It has just been indicated that Hurrian names and other linguistic elements can be recognized readily enough; but what are we to call them once they have been recognized? It is curious indeed that agreement as to terminology should appear more difficult than the actual identification of the elements involved; and yet this is precisely the case. A lengthy discussion with nothing more at stake than a mere name will not, as a rule, be worth the effort. In the present instance, however, a great deal happens to be implicit in the name, and I feel compelled to re-introduce the subject; for this is not a first attempt along these lines.¹⁰ It will be made clear, I trust, in the following pages that with the people under discussion the correct name may furnish the key to a fuller understanding of their part in history. But there is a more

¹⁰ See ANNUAL VI, 70 f., and *Monop. Orig.*, 129 f., 136 f.; cf. also Hrozný, *Archiv Orientalní* (AOr) I, 91 ff., III 285 ff. (where the earlier discussions on the subject are not mentioned, however).

urgent reason for returning to the problem. The number of terms now considered synonymous with or preferable to *Hurri* is bewildering in more ways than one, with the paradoxical result that the very wealth of names threatens to render the people nameless in the eyes of the confused reader. For what is the average student to make of it when he finds one and the same people, and its language, variously designated as Hurri, Harri, Hurli,¹¹ Hurwi, or Murri; Shubarn, Subarn, Suri,¹² and even Su;¹³ Mitanni, Mitlani,¹⁴ and the like, all in a formidable array of variations? The same volume of an encyclopedia may contain two or three of the rival terms in gay apposition;¹⁵ how is the uninitiated to divine that the several authors have the same thing in mind? Until recently there may have been room for some differences of opinion on this vexing subject. At the present state of our knowledge, however, such gratuitous anarchy amounts to sheer extravagance.

Having discussed the matter at some length in previous publications,¹⁶ I shall now only summarize the earlier results prior to adducing the latest, and to my thinking decisive, evidence. With as widely diffused a people as the Hurrians, it is clear that what we need is a comprehensive term qualified to represent the entire group and not only a particular subdivision. Hence Mitanni is automatically eliminated. This name applied properly to the well-known but short-lived empire in central Mesopotamia. Moreover, the designation was strictly political rather than ethnic or linguistic; if current at all in the latter connotations, Mitanni would not have been descriptive of the people that concerns us at present, but rather of the Indo-Iranian element to which the empire owed its organization.

Ignoring for the moment the claims of the Subarn group, we now turn our attention to Hurri and its alleged congeners. Here the problem is much more involved. The variety of forms encountered in this category springs directly from the polyphonous nature of cuneiform signs. The first syllable of the word is expressed in all cases where the reference is absolutely certain by a sign that is susceptible of several readings, the most common ones being *hur*,

¹¹ This term was advocated by Ebeloff, *OLZ*, 1930, col. 323, n. 1; it is used, e. g., by Bossert in his *Santaš und Kupapa*; but see below.

¹² Cf. Winkler, *OLZ*, 1907, cols. 281 ff.

¹³ See Börsing, *Die Völker Alt-Kleinasien und am Pontus*, 23. It is to be regretted that this monograph appeared posthumously (1933), without having had the benefit of the author's final corrections. As it stands, the work is out of date by about ten years, which makes an enormous difference in a subject of this sort, particularly when the writer happens to be as erratic as he is brilliant.

¹⁴ Cf. Burk, *JRAS*, 1928, pp. 51 ff.; but see *JFO* V111, 308 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. *Reallex. d. Assyrl.* I, 83 and 233.

¹⁶ See above, note 10.

hur, and *mur*. All three have found ready followers, hence we read of the *Harri*, the *Hurri*, and the *Murri*. The last-mentioned form may be discarded without further ado as the fantastic offspring of Amorite enthusiasts.¹⁷ Not quite as harmless is the contest between the *Harri* and the *Hurri* camps, especially because both readings are fraught with vital historical implications. Hugo Winckler, who ferreted out the word from among his Boghazköi documents, saw in it promptly a reference to the ancient Aryans.¹⁸ Since there was independent evidence for the presence of Indo-Iranians on the scene,¹⁹ Winckler's view carried great appeal. His reputation for uncanny insight into such matters did the rest, and Aryans disguised as *Harri* still loom large in current publications in spite of some serious setbacks which the original theory has suffered.²⁰ For in the meantime the supposedly non-Aryan Hittites have turned out to be strongly Indo-Europeanized,²¹ while Aryan elements have come up in Mitanni and in the neighboring countries. But the whole theory has become invalidated on other grounds as well. Most scholars are now aware of the fact that the language to which the alleged Boghazköi cognate of Indic *ārya* is applied cannot possibly be smuggled into the Indo-European family. And how could philology sanction the equation of *harri* with *ārya*, the alleged *prima facie* evidence for the ethnic identification?²² Moreover, we have seen that the reading with *har* is far from certain. In point of fact, cuneiform usage of the period is overwhelmingly in favor of *hur*; with very few exceptions²³ the syllabic symbol in question is read *hur* in the records from Boghazköi. There is even a strong possibility that our very term occurs

¹⁷ Cf. *Mesop. Orig.*, 131, n. 37.

¹⁸ See above, note 12.

¹⁹ Cf. now Mironov, "Aryan Vestiges in the Near East of the Second Millennium B. C.," *Acta Orientalia* XI, 140-217. The usefulness of this monograph is impaired by the author's inability to control the Near-Eastern sources.

²⁰ For some wondrous statements on the subject cf. Hüsing, *op. cit.*, 25 ff. (the H. are simply "blondes"!). The author identifies the group with the Horites of the Old Testament, but is entirely too magisterial with the Masoretic vocalization and ignores the Septuagint transliteration, for no better apparent reason than that he fancies the reading *Hari* (*sic*).

²¹ For a discussion of the linguistic position of Hittite the reader may now be referred to the forthcoming *Hittite Grammar* by E. H. Sturtevant.

²² For the sake of completeness, it must be stated that not all of those who prefer the reading *Harri* would imply thereby an etymological connection with *ārya*. In fact, there are but few who still share this position of Wiedner, *Afo* V, 93, n. 3. But when Eduard Meyer (*Geschichte* II. 1 (1928), 6, and *passim*) and Forrer (*Recllex. d. Assyriol.* I, 233) continue to write *Harri* (*Charri*), although aware of the non-Aryan origin of the people, their reasons for so doing are obscure.

²³ For the exceptions see Sommer, *Akkijavā*, 42, n. 1.

spelled out as *hu-ur* . . . , with *u* in the initial syllable.²⁴ As far as the troublesome name is concerned, there is, therefore, in the words of Ferdinand Sommer, "absolutely nothing in favor of *har-*, but some support for *hur-*."²⁵ I have quoted this ranking Indo-European philologist not only on account of the very thorough study of the subject which he has just made, but also because he would be the first to recognize the Aryans if they had left actually any terminological means of identification.²⁶

There are further important arguments in favor of Hurri.²⁷ For the time being, however, we may let the matter rest on its present merits. The additional material is of too great historical import to be dragged needlessly into a wasteful dispute about a vowel.

The form of the second syllable of the name is not without its own complications. In fact we should speak of forms, as is made plain by a comparison of *hur-ri-* with *hur-la-*²⁸ and *hur-wu-u-*.²⁹ Fortunately the problems are now purely philological, though by no means simple. For our present purposes it will be sufficient to state that the first form is prevalent in Akkadian, the second in Hittite, and the third in native, i. e., "Hurrian" texts. The probability is strong that all three forms are cognates, Akkadian and Hittite being in this case based on the native word. We should like to know, of course, the precise value of the apparent semivowel in *hur(r)wu-*;³⁰ information on this point is not available for the present. Again it is logical to assume that in this case, too, *hur-ri* and *hur-la-* are respectively Akkadian and Hittite adaptations from Hurrian. If we are to be thoroughly consistent we should speak

²⁴ Hrozný, *AOr* III, 286; but see Sommer, *loc. cit.*, later modified, *ibid.*, pp. 383-5.

²⁵ Cf. note 23.

²⁶ The same may be said of the other prominent Hittite scholars, such as Friedrich, Götze, and Sturtevant.

²⁷ Cf. Sommer, *op. cit.*, 285. The argument based on the Greek transliteration *Xoppaior* was anticipated in *Mesop. Orig.*, 132 f. The Ras esh-Shamra passages cited by Sommer are indeed a welcome bit of support. But in order to make the comparison convincing, the historical connection must be established in addition to the phonetic correspondence of the terms; see below.

²⁸ The stem is *hurla-*, the adverb used for the language appears as *hurlili*. That Hittite *hurluš* corresponds to Akk. (*amūlūti*) *hurri* in the respective versions of the same text is now conceded by Sommer, *op. cit.*, 286.

²⁹ For the various spellings in the Tushratta letter, which presuppose *w* as the third consonant, see the Index to Knudtzon's *Amaro*, p. 1575.

³⁰ In the West-Semitic forms (Heb. חֲרִי and Ras esh-Shamra, no. 2, lines 12, 21, 28, *hri*) an original *y* (*w*) would be naturally assimilated to the gentile ending *i*. That *hri* is most likely a Nisbe-formation (*hurriju*) is the view of Friedrich (*Afo* VIII, 239) against Sommer, *Ahhijarā*, 385. For important observations on the Ras esh-Shamra texts cf. Montgomery, *JAOs* 53, 97-123.

therefore of Hurrians, Hurlians, and Hurwians, depending on the language of the texts with which we may be dealing at the time. In strictly philological studies such niceties are indeed inevitable. It is obvious, however, that extremes of this sort could serve no useful purpose in a general discussion. When it comes to deciding between the three, the Hittite representative contains the obscure, very likely local, *l*-element;³¹ on the other hand, the Akkadian correspondent approximates closely to the apparent original form; it has an exact Canaanite counterpart, as will be seen presently; moreover, it has been long in vogue, and it is thus entitled to the right of way.

It may be mentioned in passing that attempts have been made to establish the etymology of the term which has led to this lengthy discourse. The preceding remarks have indicated, I trust, the danger inherent in such an undertaking. Where the precise original form is still subject to doubt, it would seem premature to search for the meaning. Hrozný believes that he has found the key to it in Akkadian *hurru* "hole:" the Hurrians started out as "cave-dwellers." I can only reiterate my original doubts on this point, and my skepticism is now strengthened by recent remarks of Sommer.³² Just why the Hurrians should have borrowed for their national designation a foreign term that is said to mean "troglodytes" remains as obscure and unpalatable as ever. If popular etymology played any part in the matter, it was a secondary development. In other words, the Akkadians may have associated their own *hurru* with the native name of the Hurrians, but not the other way around. The Hittites are hardly likely to have applied to their eastern neighbors a nickname originated by the remote Akkadians. It will be recalled that the identical play on words has figured prominently in the case of the biblical Horites, who cannot be kept out of this discussion very much longer. For our purposes the issue raised by Hrozný is of no real moment, and we need fear little criticism if we fail to digress any further from the main path.

With Harri, then, happily out of our way, the contest narrows down to a show of strength between Hurri and Subaru. There have been but few who ever succumbed to the Harrian theory. Subaru, on the other hand, still boasts numerous adherents. It presents a really stubborn case because its

³¹ Sommer, *op. cit.*, 385, is inclined to explain *hurra-* as a secondary, inner-Hittite formation, based perhaps on some popular etymology.

³² Cf. *AOr* I, 98, and my misgivings on the subject in *Mesop. Orig.*, 133. Hrozný goes back to his etymology in *AOr* III, 287, note 1, only to arouse the skepticism of Sommer, *op. cit.*, 386 f. At best, there may be a question of secondary etymology both in Akkadian and in Hittite, though along different lines in each case. The original form is with greatest probability the native *hurru*, or the like, concerning the etymology of which it would be futile to speculate at present.

advocates have not had to rely on arguments that are so easily vulnerable. In this virtual impasse I should have refrained from bringing the question again to the surface—I have been guilty of similar interference on two previous occasions—if it were not for fresh evidence which, to my thinking, cannot but swing the balance rather decisively. It is not that Hurri has hitherto been lacking in support. Many had decided in its favor prior to, or independently of, our original essay on the subject.²³ But ours was perhaps the first attempt to justify the usage as fully as was possible at the time; a later publication contained additional arguments.²⁴ Writers who have dealt with the subject most recently have shown, as a rule, little hesitation in deciding against Subaru. However, there have been also counter-claims; it is still maintained in some quarters that we have in Subaru the more convenient and comprehensive designation.²⁵ It can be proved, however, that there is no longer any basis for such claims.

It will be borne in mind that what we are after is an appropriate name (a) for a certain language the elements of which we can generally recognize, and (b) for the people who spoke that language. It is now a matter of record that both these usages are attested for the cognates of the term Hurri. The name appears also in a geographical sense, but it has been shown recently that the ethnic connotation has strong claims to priority.²⁶ At all events, the name was applied to the people under discussion, its language, and some of its lands. Furthermore, it was thus applied in certain instances by that people itself. Where, then, is the problem?

Briefly, it is imported from Mesopotamia. Native Akkadian sources tell of a land Subartu, which they locate rather vaguely in the north, somewhere between Amurru and Elam. In its early occurrences,²⁷ i. e., during the third millennium, the term is purely geographical (as is proclaimed outwardly by the ending),²⁸ and it covers an indeterminate and elastic area. Constant is only the general location in the north. But the north was one concept with the Babylonians and another one with the Assyrians. The former included Assyria not infrequently under Subartu; but when at length the name had

²³ Albright, Götze, Bilabel, and others have used Hurri all along.

²⁴ Cf. *ANNAAL* VI, 79 f.; *Mesop. Orig.*, 136.

²⁵ Cf. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*, 8.

²⁶ Sommer, *op. cit.*, 42 ff.

²⁷ Cf. *Mesop. Orig.*, 129; the earlier discussion by Gadd, *RA* XXIII, 60 ff., is still a valuable contribution; see also Albright, *JPOS* 43, p. 233.

²⁸ The ethnic abstraction *Subari* comes up for the first time in the annals of Adad-narari I (about 1300 B. C.), cf. *Altorientalische Bibliothek* I, 58, n. 2. For the same place-ending cf. e. g., *Elamtu*, *Inzattu*.

como to be used by the Assyrians, the meaning was more restricted and specialized.

In the early texts, then, we hear only of a land Subartu. There is no reference to "Subareans" as such; at best, we have to allow for the people of Subartu, which makes, however, a considerable difference. For mere allusions to the population of a very general area must not be mistaken for ethnic definitions. When the Akkadians or Babylonians refer to Subartu, they have in mind a certain region in the north; nothing is implied thereby concerning its possible racial or linguistic peculiarities, and there is certainly no indication that any particular people or language is presupposed. As for the Subareans, we are not confronted with them actually prior to the Assyrian annals of post-Amarna times, after political and ethnic conditions in Mesopotamia as well as in the rest of the Near East had undergone very thorough changes and readjustments. And lastly, late Assyrian lexicographers may oblige us by listing "Subarean" glosses; but the derivative linguistic designation will reflect the vagueness of the original geographical term. For the glosses include Semitic words together with Hurrian elements.³⁹ To add to the confusion, Neo-Babylonian writers have no scruples about calling the Assyrians Subarûm, and Assyria Subartu.⁴⁰

We have seen, then, that Subartu started out as a geographical concept; late in the second millennium it acquired an ethnic connotation, and in a linguistic sense it is not attested before the first millennium. In none of these meanings can the usage be called precise. The career of Hurri is a good example of exactly the opposite course. The term is best documented as an ethnonym; its linguistic and geographical connotations are evidently secondary; and there is little ambiguity in any of these usages.

The case being so plain, one might be excused for failing to see in it any problem whatever. Unfortunately, however, all the facts have not been always manifest. In a way, it is a question of seniority: owing to the accidents of discovery, the Subareans had managed to gain a foothold before the Hurrians were in a position to assert their rights. Mitanni started the procession with the letter of its king Tushratta, which first called to our attention the peculiar linguistic background of the people. But with the discovery of related proper names in Babylonia, the need for a more general and inclusive term led to the withdrawal of Mitanni in favor of "Subarean."⁴¹ Hurri has been

³⁹ See Jensen in *ZA* VI, 60, and Frank in *Festschrift Meissner*, 43 f.

⁴⁰ Cf. Ungnad, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* VI, 5, pp. 8 ff.

⁴¹ Ungnad, *loc. cit.*, is to be credited with the introduction of the term in its more pretentious rôle as an official representative of Hurri and its derivatives. The sponsor has proved, however, less consistent, or intransigent, than his followers; for while he

in evidence for only about a decade, and so its elders have refused to yield ground.

The nature of the deadlock must be emphasized once more. Subartu was used in Mesopotamia as a land-name beginning with the third millennium. In course of time Assyrian kings came to refer to a certain people as Subareans, and subsequently Assyrian lexicographers showed some interest in Subarean. Now it cannot be denied that after the Amarna period the above ethnic and linguistic designations actually dovetail in Assyria with Hurri; but it is equally obvious that the former usages lack the necessary precision and exclusiveness. In Mesopotamia, it is true, Subartu and its derivatives were decidedly in vogue; outside of the river lands, however, Hurri was employed not only by the neighbors of that people, but also by themselves. It is significant in this connection that Hurri was current in those countries where the Hurrians are known to have achieved greatest prominence.⁴² One group of scholars could see, therefore, no valid reason for imposing a strictly Mesopotamian name upon outside districts at the expense of the native term. The champions of Subartu countered with arguments of their own, which were not without a semblance of reason. In the last analysis, it was all a matter of individual preference, and so it remained until two years ago.

admits that "Hurrians" is occasionally better than "Subareans" (*Kulturfragen* I, 8, n. 1), the others are not inclined to compromise.

⁴²Subartu occurs in the Amarna letters, written (*mlt*)*su-ba-ri*, *zu-ba-ri* (cf. Knudtzon, p. 1579), but the usage is purely geographical in the sense that the name corresponds to Mitanni (*ibid.*, p. 1194). It is interesting that the ending *-tu* is given up, thus paving the way for the formation of the secondary Assyrian ethnicon *šubari*. The name is found also in the alphabetic texts from Ras el-Shamra (*šbr*, text no. 2, lines 12, 21); but since it occurs by the side of *hri* (Hurrians), it is clear that the two terms are not synonymous; even Friedrich, who uses "subaräisch" as a comprehensive designation for Hurrian in general, is forced to realize that *šbr* may mean simply "Assyria;" cf. *Afo* VIII, 239. The weakness of such an inconsistent position is obvious.

While we are on the subject, it may be pointed out that the initial sibilant varies between *s* and *š*; the former is found as early as Naram-Sin, to judge from a later copy of his inscription (*Royal Inscriptions from Ur*, 274, 13, where we have the gloss *su-bar-tim*); the Assyrian ethnicon has usually *š*, but in the contemporary occurrences of the land-name the sibilants vary again (Boulou, *Liste de noms géographiques*, 160, 169). The final vowel is *i* as a rule, but cf. the form *su-ba-ru-um*, Streck, *Assurbanipal* II, 806 f.

The ordinary geographical name for Mitanni is Haulgalbat; for the various spellings cf. Knudtzon, 1575, and *Mesop. Orig.*, 95. The name occurs, outside of the Assyrian Annals, not only in the Amarna and Nozi records (*ibid.*), but also in the recently discovered tablets from Tell Billa, which date from the Middle Assyrian period.

And finally, Mitanni is found in an earlier spelling as *ma-i-te-ni*; cf. *HSS* IX, pl. I, 26, and the commentary in *JAS* 49, pp. 269-275.

The results of two archaeological expeditions conducted in the season of 1930-31, the American School in Baghdad being a prominent participant in both, finally broke the impasse. It will be recalled that Subartu was alleged to have represented the land of the Hurrians from the very beginning; this was the very corner-stone of the Subarean theory. Now this basic assumption turns out to be groundless. Nuzi, which has given us the bulk of Hurrian names known up to the present, lay in the heart of Subartu. For several centuries during the second millennium Nuzi and the rest of Arrapha supported a large Hurrian population, characterized by its own laws and social customs, its art and its religious elements. The story is told in thousands of documents, covering all phases of daily life.⁴³ Though the ethnic term "Subareans" is not found at that period, the omission will be considered accidental, if it can be shown that Nuzi was as old as Subartu. Or, to put it differently, if the population of the place was Hurrian as far back as the Agade period, when the district is included under Subartu, the Subarean theory holds good for Mesopotamia and the adjoining eastern regions. Now the name Subartu is established for the time of Naram-Sin, of the dynasty of Agade, at which period the whole of Arrapha was part of Subartu.⁴⁴ Were there Hurrians in Nuzi in the Agade period? The excavators have unearthed a strangely negative answer to this question: There were no Hurrians in the neighborhood and, furthermore, there was no Nuzi. The site was inhabited, but its name was then Gasur, while the population was almost entirely non-Hurrian.⁴⁵ It follows conclusively that the Hurrians did not settle in Arrapha until after the Old-Akkadian period, and that this part of Subartu, at least, was held by a heterogeneous group.

Similar results were obtained at Tell Billa, north of Mosul and about a hundred miles northwest of Nuzi. There, too, the Hurrians were well represented in several strata dating from the second millennium. Unlike Nuzi, the evidence from Billa is mostly archaeological, but the Hurrian character of the remains is absolutely certain. Throughout the third millennium the site was also occupied; the early settlements, however, are distinctly non-Hurrian.⁴⁶ And yet, Billa is in the territory covered by ancient Subartu, just as was the case with Nuzi. The considerable distance between the two sites

⁴³ For literature cf. note 7.

⁴⁴ *Ur Inscriptions*, 274. 13, and the discussion by Sidney Smith, *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 73.

⁴⁵ See provisionally the account by T. J. Meek, in *Bulletin*, 48, pp. 2 ff., and now pp. 1 ff. of the present volume. The Old Akkadian texts from Nuzi will be published by Meek in the near future.

⁴⁶ Cf. Speiser, "The Pottery of Tell Billa," *Museum Journal* XXIII, 249 ff., esp. 270-276, and plates lvi-lxv.

tends to prove that these cases are not accidental or exceptional. In short, large portions of Subartu possessed non-Hurrian populations prior to the second millennium. The Hurrians were clearly new-comers who made their appearance at a comparatively late date.⁴⁷ There is no proof that they occupied any other part of Mesopotamian Subartu in early times. To be sure, bearers of Hurrian names had filtered into the country in the third millennium. Here and there they may have played important parts in the history of the land. But the home of the people must be sought elsewhere; northern Mesopotamia was to them an adopted land, which they overran in the course of an extensive migration at the beginning of the second millennium, certainly not much earlier.

It follows, therefore, that the Subareans are not the people that some scholars have taken them to be. They cannot be equated with the Hurrians of the Boghazköi texts, or with their Syrian relatives. We do not know whether the early Akkadians and Babylonians had a special ethnic designation for the Hurrians, nor, if so, what it was. It is a fact that later Assyrian kings referred to the Hurrians by the newly coined term *šubari*. But this did not take place until the Hurrians had been in the country for centuries. It is a not unusual instance of modifying an old native name for the purpose of applying it, in a specialized sense, to a now largely assimilated people.⁴⁸ But we cannot employ such a name indiscriminately for all the branches of that ethnic group without wholly obscuring the historical background.

With the disputes about terminology thus terminated at long last, we may now address ourselves to more productive tasks. Having come finally to an

⁴⁷ On this point *Mesop. Orig.*, ch. V, is now subject to correction. Leaving aside the question of the population of the district in prehistoric times, we know now that the Hurrians as such supplanted other ethnic elements, though these too were largely "Asiatic," or "Japhethite." But the language of the pre-Hurrian texts from Arrapha shows that Semitic cultural influences were strong in the third millennium. A similar chronological argument against equating Subaru with Hurri is brought up by Götze, *ZA*, NF, VII, 244. On the basis of the records from Boghazköi, reinforced with valid archaeological arguments, Götze places the Hurrian migration after 1900 B. C.

⁴⁸ Somewhat similarly, the name *Canaan*, applied to a land which supported at one time a non-Semitic population (to judge from the place-names of the third millennium, or, for that matter, from the lists of "Canaanites" in the Old Testament), developed into a designation for the later Semitic inhabitants of the land and for their language. But in that case a convenient rival term was lacking. On the other hand, quite apart from the incorrectness of the Assyrian term, Hurri was actually in general use. To speak of Subareans in Palestine and in Egypt, as is sometimes done, is incongruous, to say the least, especially in view of the attested biblical *ḥorī* and Egyptian *ḥuru*. But we are anticipating.

agreement concerning the status of Hurri, the inquiry must now be switched back to the Hurrians. It will be found expedient to review first the known extent of their diffusion in the Near East. From the Boghazköi archives we have learned that Hurrians flanked the Hittite empire to the southeast. The Amarna records bear ample witness to their expansion in Syria: Hurrian glosses and proper names serve to locate the people in such centers as Aleppo, Tunip, and Qatna, while the letter of Tushratta establishes Hurrian as the official language of the kingdom of Mitanni. Farther east we have the valuable evidence from Hurrian names in Babylonia and Assyria; lastly, the eloquent testimony of the Nuzi texts bespeaks extensive settlements in the region east of the Tigris.

Brilliant corroborative evidence of Hurrian influence in Syria has come recently from Ras Shamra. The finds from that North Syrian site have helped to make history in more ways than one. Most scholars have been attracted, naturally enough, to the new Semitic texts with their unique alphabetic script, because these records have an obvious bearing on pre-biblical history. That Hurri (*hri*) is mentioned in these documents need scarcely cause us any surprise.⁴⁹ In the excitement caused by these discoveries many may have overlooked, however, the fact that Ras Shamra has yielded also other texts written in the ordinary cuneiform script. Among the languages that are thus represented are included Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hurrian; in the light of the preceding remarks the occurrence of the latter is especially significant. Sumerian and Akkadian were inevitable as the international literary media of the period. But the inclusion of Hurrian texts cannot be attributed to similar causes; instead, we have here clear proof that, by the side of Semitic, Hurrian was actually spoken in the district. Welcome confirmation on this point is furnished by the Sumero-Hurrian vocabularies from Ras Shamra, which are now available in the masterly publication of Thureau-Dangin.⁵⁰

Nor was Syria the southern-most outpost of the Hurrians along the Mediterranean coast; Palestine, too, must now be added to the list. Conclusive proof to this effect is furnished by the tablets from Ta'anek, near Megiddo, which contain a substantial proportion of Hurrian proper names.⁵¹ With this important evidence the whole problem of the biblical Horites comes again to the fore.

Hebrew *hōrī*, "Horite," has been responsible for nearly as many compli-

⁴⁹ See above, notes 30 and 42.

⁵⁰ Cf. note 2.

⁵¹ See Gustavs, "Die Personennamen in den Tontafeln von Tell Ta'anek," *ZDPV*, vol. L, pp. 7 ff.

cations as Hurri: in many respects the careers of both terms show a remarkable parallelism. Until recently the name was linked with Hebrew *hôr*, "hole, cave:" the Horites were, accordingly, "cave-dwellers" and nothing else. This etymology met with little opposition so long as the Horites were supposed to have been confined to the mountain districts of Edom.⁵² But at length that people refused to be satisfied with such limited territory. Through the insight of Eduard Meyer it became apparent that the Horites may have played originally a far more important part than the present text of the Bible would lead us to suspect.⁵³ Beginning with the New Kingdom, Egyptian sources refer to Palestine by a name that is conventionally vocalized as *Haru*; it should, however, be read *Huru*, as was suggested by W. Max Müller forty years ago.⁵⁴ What prevented Müller from connecting Huru with the Horites was the accepted etymology of the latter; how could all of Huru be called "cave-land," and its people "cave-dwellers"?⁵⁵ But Meyer was not handicapped by such considerations. Having found adequate reasons for seeing in the Horites an originally wide-spread group, he promptly threw the etymology overboard and combined the Hebrew and Egyptian designations, thus obtaining in the common term an early synonym for "Canaanites."⁵⁶ He rejected, on the other hand, Winckler's further combination of Huru-Hori with the northern Hurri (Winckler read Haru, Harri = Aryans) on the ground that the Horite genealogies contain names which are clearly Semitic, and not Indo-European or Mitannian.⁵⁷

The last argument, however, is not necessarily conclusive. The Nuzi records show, as we were able to point out in our first paper on the subject,⁵⁸ that the Hurrians readily submitted to semitization even in such predominantly Hur-

⁵² Cf. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 136 f.

⁵³ *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 330 ff.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, 155. Professor Albright was good enough to inform me that, according to his studies of Egyptian syllabic writing, the first syllable of the name may be read as *hu*. And lastly, Ranke has shown (*Keilschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vokalisation*, 15, 17) that the proper name of the Amarna letters which occurs as Puhur, Puhura, Puhura, and the like, evidently represents Egyptian *Pj-hr* "the Huru, Syrian." The cuneiform writing leaves, of course, no doubt as to the reading *hu*.

⁵⁵ *Asien und Europa*, 155 f.

⁵⁶ It is so used in his *Geschichte* (1931), vol. II, 2, p. 157. Perhaps the most interesting item in support of this contention is found by Meyer (*Isr. u. Nach.*, 336) in Isa. 17, 9 where Heb. has the impossible יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֹמֹרִי. The Septuagint makes better sense with its "Hiwite and Amorite," but "Horite and Amorite" is closer to the original text. Here we would have, then, an interesting parallel to "Canaanite and Amorite." For the frequent substitution of Hiwite for Horite see below.

⁵⁷ *Geschichte* II, 1, p. 6, n. 3.

⁵⁸ ANNUAL VI, 81.

rian areas as contemporary Arrapha. It was not uncommon for persons with perfectly good Hurrian names to call their sons by Akkadian equivalents. Since that paper was written (1926), many more instances of the same tendency have come to light.⁵⁹ This condition prevailed in the 16th and 15th centuries (average date of the Nuzi tablets); it is natural, therefore, that it should be reflected, with local variations, in the book of Genesis, at a time when the presence of Hurrians in the land had long ceased to be anything else than a shadowy tradition. We have seen that distinctive Hurrian names were not uncommon in Canaan in the Amarna age;⁶⁰ Palestinian sites have yielded also other Hurrian analogues of the same general period.⁶¹ Moreover, at the time in question the country was known as *Huru* to the Egyptians, a name which corresponds phonetically not only with the biblical *Ḫōrī*, but also with the euneiform *Ḫurri*; this correspondence is made complete by the Septuagint rendering *Χορραῖος*.⁶² The equation of *Huru-Ḫōrī* with

⁵⁹ Among the examples in *HSS V*, the following few may be listed: A good Hurrian by the name of Tayuki (wr. *ta-a-ū-ki*, *ta-a-a-ū-ki*, *ta-i-ū-ki*, etc.) has a son called Hamu (wr. *i-la-a-uu*, *DINGIR-a-nu*, *DINGIR-nu*), 4.5-6; 13.9-10; 38.6, e. al.; he in turn is the father of Ilumahl (wr. *i-li-ma-SES*, *DINGIR-ma-ḫi*, etc.), 9.7; 15.8; 36.3, e. al. Another Nuzian with the typically Hurrian name of Akkalemmi has a sister Belit-Akkadi-nunmi (for interesting variants in the spelling of this latter name cf. 25.4, 8, 11; 69.3, 8). Conversely, a man bearing the Semitic name Bil-Adad (so in 3.5; etymologically it is Apil-Adad, 76.11, evidently the prototype of the biblical Bildad) is the father of the Hurrian Puhia (hypocor. for Puhī-senni). Similarly, Tarmiya is the son of Gimil-Adad (wr. *ki-mi-il-la-ta*), *HSS IX*, 100.39. The linguistic origin of their names was apparently a matter of minor importance with the Hurrians. For an interesting sidelight on this question cf. *Mesop. Orig.*, 114. The Egyptian name of the Hyksos Apepi (Apophis) furnishes an instructive analogon of the same category.

⁶⁰ See above, note 51.

⁶¹ This is not the place to enter into the absorbing details of the problem. Fortunately, the reader can now be referred to Albright's exhaustive studies of contemporary pottery found in Palestinian sites, and of the ultimate origin of these wares; see especially, *ANNUAL XII*, chapters II-III, and the present volume, §§ 13 ff. It is clear that whereas the pottery of Middle Bronze I shows parallels with Billa 4 (*Museum Journal XXIII*, 270-273, and plates Ivi-Ilx, lxxii), Middle Bronze II contains analogues of Billa 3 (*ibid.*, 273 ff., and plates lx-lxiv). Now Billa 3 is Hurrian proper, Billa 4 pre-Hurrian. Or in terms of archaeological interrelations, the third stratum of Billa shows intimate connections with the west, i.e., with Mycenaean centers, while Billa 4 is primarily Asiatic. The two are reflected in the earlier and later Hyksos strata respectively. It is too early to determine with precision what bearing these facts may have on the Hyksos problem. For the diffusion of Hurrian sculptural material cf. Mortgat, *Z.I*, NF. VII, 209 ff.

⁶² Cf. *Mesop. Orig.*, 132; Sommer, *Abhijard*, 285. Since a double *r* can be rendered neither in the Hebrew nor in the Egyptian scripts, *ḫōrī* and *ḫur(u)* are the closest

Hurri⁶³ becomes thus unavoidable. There is little need to indicate what such an equation implies from a historical standpoint.

One last possible objection remains to be met: thus far we have had no proof, but only a mere assumption, that the Horites really occupied larger areas than are allowed them by the Bible; if they are indeed the same as the Hurrians, they must be discovered outside of Edom. These misgivings will disappear upon a closer examination of the biblical material. It can be shown that the present evidence for Horite concentration in Edom rests largely on erroneous textual transmission; earlier versions pictured a different situation. The Septuagint knew of Horites living in Central Palestine, to judge from two important passages where we have *Xoppaio*— for the חפ of the present Hebrew text.⁶⁴ That this interchange is not merely a matter of the Greek recension as against Hebrew, but occurs within the Hebrew itself, is made evident by Gen. 36, where verse 2 reads חפ, while verse 20 has חפ, although both refer to the same family. In point of fact, the Hiwwives (E. V. "Hivites") have had a very precarious existence throughout. In two significant instances they were refused recognition by the Septuagint, as we have just seen. There are only two other passages in which the Hiwwives are associated with more or less definite localities: Jos. 11, 3 would place them "under Hermon in the land of Mispah," and Jud. 3, 3 locates them in Mount Lebanon. This time objections are raised by the commentators, who substitute "Hittites" in both cases, with the Greek lending its authority to this change as far as the passage in Jos. is concerned.⁶⁵ The difficulty is obvious: first we encounter the Hiwwives in Central Palestine; the Septuagint brands them as disguised Horites. Then we are introduced to them in southern Syria; now the commentators offer strenuous opposition, saying that they have room for the Hittites, but have never heard of Hiwwives so far north. Outside of the above passages the Hiwwives are found only in the stereotyped, and for our purposes mean-

possible approximations to *hurri*. The Septuagint rendering restores the double *r*, and the *o*-vowel is a normal inner-Hebrew development before a long consonant. In transcribing *hōri* (with a long *a*) we are indicating the regular compensatory lengthening of the vowel in Hebrew.

⁶³In his valuable *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas*, 34, n. 4, Maister gives this clan a rather novel turn. He approves the connection of Hurri with Huru, but rules out the intermediate link of the Horites. The stumbling block in his case is the alleged Beduin character of the Horites. The answer is that the thoroughly semitized and disguised Horites of the biblical documents are a long way off from the original Hurri.

⁶⁴Gen. 34, 2; Jos. 9, 7 (13 in the Greek version). The third relevant passage (Jos. 11, 10) is not represented at all by the Septuagint; cf. *Mesop. Orig.*, 132.

⁶⁵Cf. *Judges*, *ad loc.*

ingless, lists of Canaanite races.⁶⁶ In not a single instance where the mention of the Hiwwites is of any significance may the reference be considered unassailable. It is logical to ask, therefore, whether such a people as the Hiwwites ever had a tangible existence. A negative answer will be fully justified, if we are able to produce the group that can take their place. For this we do not have to go very far. Both the Septuagint and the Masoretic text have proposed the Horites as a partial solution. We cannot do better than apply this remedy to the remaining cases. The Hurrian names from Ta'anek bear out the Greek recension admirably; there is now also ample evidence for the presence of Hurrians in Syria. When the commentators summoned the Hittites to their aid, a good deal was known about "Hittite" Qadesh, but next to nothing as regards the diffusion of the Hurrians. Today we are able not only to connect the Hurrians with the Horites, but also to combine the latter with the Hiwwites.

Was חַוִּי , then, a textual error for חֹרִי pure and simple? It may have been that, as is made probable by Gen. 36.2 and 20. Hebrew ח and ך are readily confused, whether the script be Phoenician or Aramaic. Once perpetrated, the mistake would extend rapidly to other occurrences of the name. It is even possible to discover a reason for the popularity of the spurious Hiwwites. That popular etymology relegated the Horites to caves at an early time is a very probable assumption. In that case Edom was an ideal home, but Palestine as a whole was far less suitable; thus the Horites came to be restricted to Edom and the Hiwwites were substituted for them in all their other scheduled appearances. All this, however, is only a hypothesis. Possible is also the assumption of a Horite subdivision known as the Hiwwites, whose name supplanted the more general designation on account of complications arising through popular etymology.⁶⁷ But the precise sequence of events

⁶⁶ The Septuagint has an additional Εβαιοι in Isa. 17.9, a passage that is badly mutilated in Hebrew. But the ethnic group in this case were undoubtedly the Horites, cf. note 56.

⁶⁷ A Hurrian clan of Hawites, or the like, is a distinct possibility, especially in view of the well known Hurrian name Hu(w)ya (wr. hu-in , *HSS* V. 92.13, and hu-û-in). This substitution of a part for the whole would have been facilitated by the influences mentioned above. The transfer may also have been suggested by the analogy with another, but similar name. To be more specific, Deut. 2.23 (and Jos. 13.3) speaks of the 'Awwim who dwelt in enclosures (בְּמִצְרֹת); they were supplanted by the Cretans "that came forth out of Caphtor." The passage was discussed by Albright in *JPOS* I, 187 ff. Albright has also paved the way for the next step, by his brilliant discussions of the peculiar Hyksos ramparts (identified by him as such); for latest references cf. *Bulletin* 47, p. 8. Now these enclosures in which the 'Awwim dwelt can hardly be anything else than the Hyksos ramparts. The people are relegated to the

is really a matter of little concern in this particular instance. The Hiwites have been proved guilty of removing Horite landmarks. The wrong having been corrected, we need not be too reflective about the original motives.

It will be granted, I think, that the equation of Hurrians with Horites may now be viewed as safely established. With the last link in a long chain thus in position, this part of the inquiry has been completed. The results may be summed up briefly, as follows: 1. During the second millennium we see extensive sections of the Near East occupied by a new ethnic group. 2. As a designation for that people, and its characteristic language, *Subarean* is not merely inferior to *Hurrian*; on latest evidence it is demonstrably incorrect.⁶⁵ 3. The penetration of the Hurrians into Palestine is established through the independent evidence of proper names; it is reflected in Egyptian *Huru* and in the biblical sources dealing with the Horites.

We may now consider some of the resultant historical implications.

III. The Hurrians in the Light of Contemporary History.

Perhaps the most striking feature in connection with the Hurrians is the established fact of their expansion over a vast area, in what was assumed by many to have been predominantly Semitic territory. The scholarly world, which has watched these developments with an increasing sense of wonder, cannot but find the rise of the Hurrians an even more remarkable phenomenon than the re-appearance of the Hittites. For the latter we were prepared to a certain extent by Egyptian, biblical, and cuneiform sources. But the same records contained no warning that we should be obliged to make room for the

Negeb, where such fortifications have already been discovered (at Tell el-Fâr'ah; cf. also the Hyksos material from Tell el-'Ajûl). Moreover, the chronological indications, according to which Crete followed the 'Awwim, correspond with the archaeological sequence of Hyksos and Aegean influences. And lastly, Prof. Olmstead, with whom I have discussed this point, reminds me of the Hyksos center in Galilee, the celebrated Hazor, whose name is formed from the very root employed to designate the "enclosures." In short, the 'Awwim represented a Hyksos group. Since the period involved dovetails with the time of the Hurrian diffusion in Palestine, it is entirely probable that the 'Awwim were not without influence on the Hiwites, at least through being associated with them by later writers. The point should be borne in mind, even though nothing more than the form of the latter name may be at stake.

⁶⁵ In dealing with the purely linguistic aspect of the problem, the impression must not be created that there were no dialectic differences within Hurrian. Local peculiarities have been noted, by others as well as by the present writer (cf. *JNES* 49, 269 ff.). But instead of speaking of Hurrian in one place and of Subarean elsewhere, it is much less confusing, and more direct, to indicate in each particular instance that we are dealing with the Hurrian of Boghazköi, Ras esh-Shamra, Mitanni, Nuzi, etc.

Hurrians, by whatever name they might be known, outside and far beyond the limits of the middle Euphrates area. Near Eastern history is still young enough for such startling surprises.

Apart from the spatial aspect, however, there is a further factor in this study which is of equal scientific importance: the chronological element involved. We have seen that the mass movement of Hurrians into Arrapha took place in the first half of the second millennium; the same applies to the district of Nineveh (Tell Billa). In Mesopotamia, then, the scattered and sporadic visitors of an earlier age, who bear Hurrian names, are followed in the Cassite period by large groups of Hurrian settlers. The west fared similarly in this respect. The Palestinian Hurrians of the middle of the second millennium cannot lay claim in that country to very high antiquity. For the Egyptian records of about 2000 B. C. which are capable of throwing some light on this subject (commonly cited as *Aechtungstexte*) allow us to infer that Palestine and Phoenicia were overwhelmingly Semitic as late as the end of the Middle Kingdom.⁶⁹ Now a movement that deposited large groups of an intrusive ethnic stock in such widely separated areas as Arrapha and Palestine, as well as in the intermediate districts, cannot be classed simply with wanderings in the ordinary sense of the term. We have here evidence of ethnic migrations on an unprecedented scale, which changed completely the political map of the Near East and brought in their wake radical ethnic realignments. It is the dynamic character of these happenings that, combined with their narrow chronological limitations, gives them such a prominent place in the history of the second millennium.

At this point it becomes advisable to guard against possible confusion with regard to a rather important detail. It has been indicated that the Hurrian migrations belong in their entirety to the second millennium, and that upon overrunning the new territories the Hurrians faced for the most part populations of Semitic or semitized stock. In other words, Semites had preceded the Hurrians in the regions with which we are concerned. Now it would be fallacious to base upon this fact the conclusion that the Semites really constituted the earliest ethnic group in the areas under discussion, at least within historic times. We know, in fact, that such was not the case. In Palestine place names of the Early Bronze age testify to the early occupation of the

⁶⁹ For this exceedingly important material see Sethe, *Die Aechtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässcherben des Mittleren Reiches*, Berlin, 1926. The Asiatic references in these texts have been discussed by several scholars; see especially Albright, "The Egyptian Empire in Asia in the Twenty-First Century B. C.," *JPOS* VIII, 223 ff.

country on the part of non-Semitic elements; the same may be said of Syria.⁷⁰ Mesopotamia was, of course, the proverbial Babel; Sumerians and Semites, plainsmen and mountaineers, waged unending wars for the possession of the fertile valley. This was the situation during the best part of the third millennium.⁷¹ But it is a different world that confronts us in the succeeding period. There had been centuries of comparative quiet about the turn of the millennium: the golden ages of Hammurabi and of the Twelfth Dynasty of Egypt. Hither Asia had acquired in the meantime a veneer of racial equilibrium, with the Semites holding the balance of power. And then the storm broke loose.

It is not within the compass of this essay, much less within the competence of its author, to trace the ensuing events to their possible ultimate causes. To locate the original force that was soon to start an avalanche sweeping everything before it; uprooting peoples here and depositing them far from their original seats; driving Indo-Europeans into Anatolia and Cassites to the heart of Babylonia, with a powerful wedge of Hurrians in between; a force that abated long enough to permit the feeble amenities of the Amarna age, only to blaze another trail of destruction in annihilating empires and sending wave upon wave of Peoples of the Sea against the shores of the Mediterranean; all this presents an awesome task which is today as fascinating as it is dangerous.⁷² Our sole concern for the present is with one of the stages in this upheaval: the vicissitudes of the Hurrians. By bearing in mind the course of their migrations, and by restricting ourselves to the implied limits of space and of time, we shall succeed in reducing greatly the magnitude of the problem as a whole. Nevertheless, there remain many pitfalls and hazards. To venture out in these circumstances will be hardly accounted the better part of valor; and it is a poor consolation to know that others have done it, and suffered the consequences.

We have seen that the Hurrians were wanderers, from necessity rather than by choice. We have met them in Mesopotamia and in Syria, in Palestine and at the borders of Egypt. Furthermore, we have been able to restrict the time of their wanderings to a portion of the second millennium. Thus far we have stayed on fairly safe ground. With the next step our troubles begin in earnest; but that step cannot be avoided. For now we must confront the Hurrians with their fellow-wanderers, the Habiru and the Hyksos.

The last two terms are not strictly of the same type. Neither is precise.

⁷⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 254; cf. also *Mesop. Orig.*, p. 154, n. 113.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁷² Götze, *Das Hethiter-Reich*, 13, appreciates both the nature and the magnitude of the problem.

but one is much more general and vague than the other. *Ḫabiru* starts out as an appellative,⁷³ but it has the ambition and a decided tendency to develop into an ethnic designation; *Hyksos* does not cease to be an appellative until it is removed by late writers to a semi-mythological sphere.⁷⁴ The difference between the two may not be immediately apparent; it is none the less considerable. *Ḫabiru* comes to designate a fairly well defined entity, which may be contrasted with such other entities as Hurrian, Hittite, or even Amorite. *Hyksos*, on the other hand, means simply "rulers of the foreign lands;" it may stand for Hurrian, Hittite, Amorite, and the like, not barring *Ḫabiru*. In short, the two terms are not mutually exclusive.

There have been many studies on the subject of the *Ḫabiru*, some of them of outstanding merit.⁷⁵ If they have failed to prove altogether conclusive, it is only because the available material does not admit as yet of a satisfactory solution of the problem. There is now neither the need nor the necessary space to go into all the details of this intricate subject; it will suffice to bring out the salient facts and to attempt to reduce the material to a common denominator.

There is a great deal of similarity between the careers of the Hurri and the *Ḫabiru*. In Babylonia we find the *Ḫabiru* in pre-Hammurabi times.⁷⁶ East of the Tigris they are amply attested at Nuzi, where we find a welcome abundance of proper names of the *Ḫabiru*.⁷⁷ They were known in Cappadocia,⁷⁸ and in the Boghazköi texts they figure very prominently.⁷⁹ The Amarna tablets are particularly sensitive to the *Ḫabiru* menace.⁸⁰ And to make this parallelism complete, they were not strangers to Egypt, as we shall see presently.

Hurrians and *Ḫabiru* were thus coextensive to a remarkable degree; apart from this, however, their paths diverge sharply. The Hurrians can always

⁷³ See Landsberger, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, 321 ff.; Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, 206 f.; Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, 158 ff.; Chiera, *AJSL* XLIX, 115 ff.; for older material on the subject cf. *Mesop. Orig.*, 162, n. 126, Burney, *Judaea*, lxxiii ff.

⁷⁴ Cf. W. Wolf, "Der Stand der Hyksosfrage," *ZDMG* 83, pp. 67 ff.

⁷⁵ Jirku, *Die Wanderungen der Hebräer*, glosses over too many of the real difficulties, although his collection of the extra-biblical references was valuable at the time when his pamphlet was published (1924).

⁷⁶ Cf. *RA* XII, 115.

⁷⁷ Chiera, *loc. cit.* Incidentally, the Nuzi texts make it clear that the name was originally *Ḫabiru* in the sg., *Ḫabirā* in the pl.; *Ḫabiri* is a later collective designation.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁷⁹ See provisionally Forrer, *Recllex. d. Assy.* I, 235; Sommer, *Ahhiyavā*, 43 f.

⁸⁰ Knudtzon, *Amarna*, 1574 f.; Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XIX, 68 ff.

he recognized by their characteristic proper names: they were an ethnic unit. But the Habiru cannot be identified in the same simple manner, because their names belong to a variety of languages: the people were obviously recruited from various ethnic groups.⁶¹ We cannot tell a Habiru unless he has been called so specifically; the name is therefore merely an appellative.

If Habiru was not a racial term, what other idea did the name convey? Was the designation occupational? The reported functions of the people are too diverse for that. For they were employed as professional soldiers, laborers, or simply slaves; in the Amarna period they represent independent units.⁶² This being the case, the name must denote in some way the status of the group concerned. What, then, was the common characteristic of all the Habiru?

We must examine briefly the available sources. The Nuzi records, which throw so much light on contemporary social conditions, will be the first to claim our attention. It is fortunate indeed that the numerous references to the Habiru which are found in these documents are now gathered conveniently in an important study by Chiera (*loc. cit.*), the last one from the pen of that lamented scholar. Upon a closer examination, the proper names will be found inconclusive, although they represent the bulk of the onomastic material bearing on the Habiru: for they are composed largely of Babylonian and Assyrian elements, and non-Semitic compounds are not rare. For ethnic purposes, therefore, the material is useful only in a negative sense. The same is true of the geographical indications: the people are often traced to the places of their origin, but the countries in question range from Akkad to Assyria and the more westerly Izalla.⁶³ The Habiru of Arrapha have only one thing in common: they do not enjoy full civic rights. The tablets in which they are mentioned are usually records of self-enslavement, whereby the Habiru enter "of their own free will" into such and such a household for servitude. To be sure, there is a legal difference between these free-born servants and slaves proper: the former could regain their original status upon making the necessary payments. The fact remains, however, that the Habiru of Arrapha were generally compelled by the force of circumstances to forfeit their freedom.

What were these circumstances? Any answer to this question will be open to dispute so long as the sources remain incomplete. For the present we are reduced to more or less justified deductions, not to say conjectures. No explanation can be considered, however, unless it satisfies one essential prerequisite:

⁶¹ Cf. Burney, *Judges*, lxxxv, and the list in Chiera, *loc. cit.*, 117. For the connection between Habiru and SA.GAS, see now Landsberger, *loc. cit.*, 322; on the whole question cf. also Dhorme, *JPOS* IV, 162 ff., and J. Lewy, *OZ*, 1927, cols. 738 ff.

⁶² Cf. Chiera, *loc. cit.*

⁶³ Wr. (*mât*) in-za-al-ti, *ibid.*, 118.

it must apply to all the known occurrences of the Habiru. We cannot devise at this stage one set of rules for the Palestinian Habiru and another one for their Nuzian contemporaries.

The first step towards such an explanation is quite simple. Wherever they are encountered, the Habiru are evidently foreigners. In the west they are not Hittites or Canaanites, in the east they cannot be classed with the citizens of Arrapha or of Babylon.⁸⁴ They are men without a country, either as expatriates or because no country had ever claimed them as citizens. They are strangers and, as such, nomads in a certain sense.

How did the Habiru come by such a mode of life? On this point there are marked differences of opinion. A review of these would carry us too far afield. We shall mention only two or three of the latest theories. According to Chiera they were recruited from among captives. This might account for their social status in Arrapha, but it will not work elsewhere. In Babylonian records the Habiru are supervised by officers of their own,⁸⁵ which does not seem normal for captives. The Hittites employ them for military purposes, and in Syria and Palestine they appear as independent raiders. These facts can scarcely be reconciled with the captive theory.⁸⁶ Others have thought of the Habiru as foreign soldiers;⁸⁷ but they certainly fail to strike us as mercenaries in Nuzi. The best view seems to be that the Habiru consisted of bands of adventurers and soldiers of fortune.⁸⁸ In peaceful times it would not have been an easy matter for them to subsist on raids in such well organized states as Babylon or Arrapha. They had to take such work as they could find, even if it involved virtual slavery. We cannot blame the Nuzians for failing to welcome them with open arms or for not extending to them the privileges of citizens. On the other hand, such groups would naturally thrive on wars. Having little to lose, they would offer their aid to the highest bidder, and there were apparently many Asiatic princes in the troubled years of the pre-Amarna period who could use their services to good advantage; few could afford to antagonize them.⁸⁹ The power of the early kings of the Eight-

⁸⁴ When a good Hurrian name, such as Nau-Teshup, is found among the Habiru of Nuzi (*ibid.*, 117), we must conclude that the man was not a citizen, although a Hurrian, because he is treated exactly like the other Habiru.

⁸⁵ They have their PA.LÜ.SA.GAZ.MEŠ (VAB VI, no. 26), just as the Amorites have their PA.MAR.TU (cf. *Revue. d. Assy.* I, 447).

⁸⁶ In the Amarna letters (Knudtzon, 287.54; 288.21) the word for captives (*asiru*, *asiri*) occurs in the same texts as the Habiru, but the two groups are never confused.

⁸⁷ Cf. Jirku, *op. cit.*

⁸⁸ Landsberger, *loc. cit.*; Albright, *Archaeology*, 208.

⁸⁹ See the comprehensive account in Olmstead, *Palestine*, 158 ff.

eenth Dynasty may have put a temporary check upon their activities; but with the decline of that dynasty the Habiru were back at their old game, with Syria and Palestine offering unusual opportunities for success.

This interpretation commends itself now to an increasing number of scholars because it is capable of accounting for the varying fortunes of the Habiru in peace and war. According to this view, a Habiru was at first not necessarily one who belonged to a given ethnic group or who hailed from a specified locality, but rather one who was committed to a certain particular mode of living. We have had occasion to see that it was by no means a sedentary life. It would naturally appeal more to nomads than to dwellers in towns and villages. In fact, the whole movement may have received its original impetus from wandering Semitic tribesmen. But the Habiru cannot be equated simply with the Bedouin; they constituted broader social groups, with followers from the various countries through which they had passed. Perhaps it is wisest not to probe too closely into the antecedents of these recruits from the ranks of the settled population; their motives need not have been strictly honorable.⁹⁰ At any rate, the synonym *habbatu* "raider" for Habiru was no doubt well justified.⁹¹ The nature of their various pursuits evidently called for strict organization. In the course of time a certain degree of ethnic consciousness may have developed secondarily. Thus, e.g., when a group embarked upon a raid and reinforcements became necessary, an Aramaic majority within that group might welcome additional Arameans, or even Amorites, rather than Hittites or Hurrians. Along the same lines there may have evolved specifically Habiru religious concepts,⁹² namely by adoption from a given group and subsequent specialization.

But enough of these speculations! We are in danger of wandering off farther than the most nomadic of the Habiru. Time will tell how much reason there may be in such suggestions. In the meantime it will be safer to follow the Habiru into Egypt. There is no longer any serious doubt about the correctness of identifying the Habiru with the Egyptian 'Apiru. The latter appear as foreign laborers, perhaps also as mercenaries, in the records of the Ramessides of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties (Ramesses II-Ramesses IV, 13th and 12th centuries). The identity of the two terms was doubted largely because of the disparity in time: the Habiru of the Amorite

⁹⁰ While the Habiru movement would appeal naturally to nomadic groups of Semites, it was scarcely equally attractive to the settled Kassites and Hurrians. It is fugitives from justice who often find a refuge in such "foreign legions."

⁹¹ Cf. Landsberger, *loc. cit.*, 322.

⁹² On the *ilāni Habiri* see now Landsberger, *ibid.*, 326.

records appear a century earlier than the 'Apiru. Moreover, there was little outward similarity between the dangerous warriors of the cuueiform documents and the workmen employed by Ramesses II for the performance of menial tasks. We know now, however, from the Nuzi records that not all the Habiru were proud conquerors. In reality, the lot of their Nuzian confrères was scarcely more enviable than that of the most overworked 'Apiru. Finally, the 'Apiru have been found recently in Palestine, in the stele of Sethos I, hence prior to their previous earliest appearance under Ramesses II, and no further in time from the Habiru of the Amarna documents than the related material from Nuzi. The connection of the 'Apiru with the Habiru may thus be considered as reasonably complete.⁹³

⁹³ This formerly rejected connection is now gaining general acceptance; cf., e.g., Jirku, *op. cit.*, 23 ff., Bilabel, *Geschichte*, 120, 428, and Albright, *loc. cit.* Mr. Battiscombe Gunn, Curator of the Egyptian section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, who was good enough to read the manuscript and proof of this paper and make several valuable suggestions, kindly appends the following note on the subject:

"In all six occurrences of the name "Apiru" or "Aperu" are known to me, namely:

- (1) 'pr : Beth-shan Stela of Sethos I, see Alan Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth Shan*, 30.
- (2) 'pr : Harris Papyrus 500, verso 1/5 (temp. Sethos I or slightly later).
- (3) 'prjw : Leyden Papyrus I, 348, 6/6 (temp. Ramesses II).
- (4) 'prio : Leyden Papyrus I, 349 (b), line 7 (temp. Ramesses II).
- (5) 'pr : Great Harris Papyrus, 31/8 (temp. Ramesses III).
- (6) 'pr : Conynt-Montet, *Inscriptions . . . du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, No. 12/17 (temp. Ramesses IV).

In these writings of the word, the only consonants that concern us are ' , p and r; the final *w* in (4) is doubtless merely the Egyptian masculine plural ending, and the *jw* of (3) seems to be another form of the Egyptian masculine plural, much less common, peculiar to Late Egyptian and obscure in origin; it is also found occasionally in the plural form *Hrjw* "Hurrians", see Erman-Grapow, *Aeg. Wörterbuch*, 3, 232. It is quite possible that the *p* of this word represented a foreign *b*, for a number of similar cases are known: (a) *šbr* varying with *špr*, "whip", from an unknown foreign word. Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter* II, 134; (b) *šrp* "sword" = Heb. שרף, and cf. Arabic *šrb*, *op. cit.*, 686; (c) *špr* = *šubbilulī* (uma), name of Hittite king, *op. cit.*, 776; (d) *kpn* (in the Old Kingdom *kbn*) = *gubla*, "Byblos", *op. cit.*, 975, 976; (e) *grb* varying with *grp*, an unknown foreign word of uncertain meaning, *op. cit.*, 1059, 1061; (f) *tpu*, Syrian place-name = Hebr. *Dibôn*?, *op. cit.*, 1085, and (g) *dpr*, Syrian place-name = Hebr. *Debir*, *op. cit.*, 1186.

"It is perhaps no mere coincidence that in six out of these seven cases the *p/b* has *r* or *t* either before or after it, while also the *n* in 'pr is followed by *r*. And the one exception (f) may really be eliminated from the list, for the identification with *Dibôn* is quite doubtful. In (b) and (d) *rb*, *bl* seem to have been contiguous in the words heard by the Egyptians (*šarbu*, *gubla*); in (e) and (g) *bl*, *br* were separated by short *i* and long *i* respectively; of the vocalization of (a) and (c) we know nothing.

The Egyptian synonym helps to settle a troublesome problem in phonology. As is well known, emneiform *h* may represent Semitic *h* and *ghayin*, as well as West-Semitic 'ayin.²¹ Which of these three sounds is concealed in the first consonant of *habiru*? The question has an obvious bearing upon the etymology of the name. In the Egyptian writing the above consonants are not subject to the same confusion as in emneiform; hence 'Apiru compels us to decide definitely in favor of 'ayin. This is a very useful development because it precludes further combinations of *Ḥabiru* with Heb. *hbr* and the consequent interpretation of the term as "confederates." Unfortunately, the second consonant in the case is not treated with the same consideration. The emneiform writing may represent a *b* or a *p*; the Egyptian form has indeed *p*, but this is not decisive because *b* has been known to lose its voice in Egyptian

Although there are many cases (36 counted) in which a foreign *b* with *r* or *l* either before or after it is represented by *b* and not by *p* in the Egyptian writings, the fact that in the word 'pr the *p* is followed by *r* surely makes it easier to regard it as representing an original 'br.

"It remains, as regards the consonants, to be pointed out that no case is known in which the Egyptians wrote a foreign *h* or *h* by ' , so that of the two words (or forms) 'br ("Hebrew") and *Ḥabiru* it can have been only the former that was reproduced as 'pr.

"The vocalization of 'pr cannot at present be ascertained precisely from the Egyptian writings. The writing of the first consonant is that which seems to stand regularly for 'a- at the beginnings of other foreign words. The second element is written in (2, 3, 5) with a group which elsewhere seems to represent indifferently *par*, *pi* or *pu*; in (4, 6) there is no indication of any vowel; in (1) the vowel *i* is possibly indicated. The third element is written in (2, 3, 5) as though closing a syllable, but in (4, 6), and perhaps in (1) without any indication as to vocalic context. Thus we seem to have the alternatives 'apar, 'apir, 'apur, with a possible indication in (1) in favor of 'apir; plus, in (3, 4), an Egyptian plural ending. B. G."

While acknowledging gratefully my obligation to Curator Gunn, I wish also to express thanks to Prof. Millar Burrows for reading the manuscript of this paper and contributing helpful suggestions.

"For instances of the latter type see Burney, *Judges*, lxxv; the number could now be increased considerably. Dirku (*op. cit.*, 25 f.) is off the right track when he assumes that the 'ayin of 22 represents an older *ghayin*, because it corresponds to emneiform *h*. This is certainly a hasty conclusion. When he says (p. 6, n. 1) that "keilinschriftl. *Ḥabiru* die Umschrift von kana'an. 'ibri (n. ii) ist, und nicht umgekehrt," he makes another statement that is philologically inadmissible. There is here no question of direct transliterations, but of two different forms. Since he assumes, however, that 'ibri was the original Canaanite form, he should have realized that it is precisely 'br which is well documented in West-Semitic, while *ghr* is very doubtful. Nor is Dirku more convincing when he attempts (p. 25) to trace the Hittite pronunciation of labials in the Egyptian renderings of Canaanite words. Phonetic questions require much more careful handling than that.

when flanked on either side by an *r*-sound.⁹⁵ In this predicament, however, a third source comes to our assistance.

There is nothing new in the suggestion that the names for the Habiru and the Hebrews go back to the same source. Numerous objections to this equation have been raised from time to time, but few have persisted in their original skepticism on this point. This is due primarily to the fact that our knowledge of the Habiru has increased considerably since the time when they first came to life in the Amarna records. We need no longer be baffled by the circumstance that the known Habiru names are non-Semitic; the Nuzi documents show now a handsome majority in favor of the Semitic Habiru. Moreover, references to the Habiru in the Boghazköi records have helped to place the subject in a truer perspective. Historical considerations render the equation attractive; there are still many knotty problems in the whole subject, but the situation becomes hopeless if the equation is rejected. As regards the phonetics of the case, the first and the third consonants correspond exactly in the Hebrew *'ibri* (עברי), in *'Apiru*, and in *Habiru*. The second consonant is ambiguous both in cuneiform and in Egyptian, but not so in Hebrew: since the latter has *b*, the labial must be read as voiced in cuneiform, while the voiceless correspondent in the Egyptian form of the name is to be ascribed to local developments. In short, there is no objection to the assumption that the biblical word for the Hebrews corresponds phonetically with *Habiru* and *'Apiru*. There still remains a minor morphological difficulty (the relation of *habiru* to *'ibri*), but it does not affect the situation vitally.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Cf. the discussion by Mr. Gunn, note 93.

⁹⁶ Burney's statement (*Judges*, lxxiv) that the "philological equivalence of *Ha-bi-ru* with עִבְרִי is perfect" is too optimistic. It applies only to the phonetic equivalence of the stems involved. Morphologically, *habiru* and עִבְרִי can be equated only on the assumption that the latter goes back to an earlier form *'abir(u)*. It so happens that such an assumption is entirely plausible (cf. e.g., Bauer-Lemmer, *Grammatik*, 14, n. 3); the form *qitl* may go back to an older *qatil*. But the following restriction must be imposed in this connection: forms of this type are derived from so-called stative, not transitive verbs. The noun עֶשֶׂה "message, book" could not be connected with Akk. *šapāru*, if that verb did not have by the side of the transitive impf. *šāpur* the stative *šāpar*. Similarly, *'abir* presupposes an impf. *'iḥar*, just as the participle *'āber* leads back to *'aḥar*. Consequently, while *'āber* (< *'ābiru*) means "one who crosses," *'abir* must represent "one who is passing, transient, nomad." (We know that *šamīn* meant originally "one who is in a state of perceiving, hearing," *lābiān* "one who dresses.") That biblical *'br* specializes in the transitive meaning of the root is no proof that the stative connotation did not exist at the beginning of the second millennium, when *habiru* is first reliably documented (time of Rim-Sin). Other verbs of this category have retained their stative forms throughout: thus Sem. *rakiba* "to ride," > Heb. impf. רָכַב.

The question is now in order as to a possible etymology for the term in question. The simplification of the consonantal backgrounds of the several related terms makes the problem easier than it was originally, but it fails to remove all the obstacles in our path. It is now reasonably certain that the name originated with Semites and that it goes back to a root *'br*. The principal meanings of that stem are "to cross, pass, traverse." The traditional derivation of *'ibri* takes us back, as is well known, to the same root. Hebrews being originally those who had come from "across the river." Popular etymologies are, of course, very suspicious evidence; if such connections are to be credited at all, independent support must be produced. Now the same root is capable of yielding the meaning "passing from place to place," hence in a derivative sense "being a nomad." Such an interpretation is by no means inconsistent with what we have learned about the *Ḫabiru*. These groups appear to have been forever on the move. In Nuzi, some of the *Ḫabiru* come from Akkad, others from Ashur and even from Izalla. What worries the writers of the Amarna letters most is precisely this cruising habit of the *Ḫabiru*. They were nomads not in the same sense as the Bedouin, but in so far as they were not settled permanently in any definite locality; as such they were naturally foreigners to all with whom they came in contact, so that the name would come to denote both nomads and foreigners of a certain type. "Nomad" is not an ethnic designation; it is an appellative, but so was also *ḫabiru* at the start. As yet there is no way of establishing this etymology beyond the possibility of dispute; it appears, however, to be gaining in likelihood with each new strand of evidence.

It is still a long cry from the *Ḫabiru* of the Amarna records to the Hebrews of the Old Testament. The biblical term is general, to be sure, being applied to a group of peoples and not just to a single ethnic entity; nevertheless, the usage is largely ethnic. On the other hand, we know that the *Ḫabiru* represented in early times socially organized groups composed of members of various nationalities. But was this original status maintained? Apparently not everywhere, to judge from the frequent citations of *Ḫabiru* gods in the treaties of Boghazköi.⁹⁷ An increasing percentage of Semites among the *Ḫabiru* of the Amarna period may well have imparted to them a quasi-ethnic aspect. Upon their conquest of Canaan, the *Ḫabiru* settled in a district that was predominantly Semitic. Ultimately the area is found inhabited by Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, as well as Israelites; all of them must have absorbed considerable numbers of the *Ḫabiru* by whom they had been conquered. It is perfectly natural that the conquerors should have

⁹⁷ See above, note 92.

furnished thus a common designation which embraces these interrelated elements. Parallel with this course would be the development of the ethnic form 'ibrî from an appellative 'abiru (*habiru*).

I know that "may have been" and "perhaps" appear all too often in the above exposition. The material does not admit as yet of replacing probabilities with certainties. The picture which I have drawn echoes largely the views of a considerable number of scholars; it has, to my thinking, the advantage of incorporating the available historical indications into a tolerably well knit unit. The next step leads inevitably to a brief examination of the relevant passages in the Old Testament.

We have arrived at this point in the normal and logical sequence of our inquiry. For having reached an understanding as regards the philological connection of *habiru* and 'ibrî, we must proceed with a further comparison of the cuneiform and biblical sources. What we have found out about the *Habiru* has some bearing on the question of the early Hebrews; perhaps the patriarchal narratives will help in return to place the *Habiru* on a somewhat firmer footing. It is not altogether a case of trying to explain one unknown proposition with the aid of another equally obscure, because useful information has been accumulating slowly at both ends. But we must not be too sanguine about the outcome of this cooperation; the danger of barking up the wrong tree is still uncomfortably close.

The age of the patriarchs has received much attention in recent years.⁶⁸ In a number of able studies the pertinent facts have been listed and evaluated. Many details remain obscure, but they need not break up the continuity of this presentation in view of the several discussions on the subject in which they have received adequate treatment. What is more urgent is reasonable agreement as to the main conclusions, but this has not been attained thus far. My sole excuse for making yet another attempt along these lines is a fresh approach from the Mesopotamian rather than the Canaanite angle. Epigraphic and archaeological sources have supplied new evidence which, added to the mass of previously accumulated material, may help to clarify the picture. The groundwork was laid in the preceding chapter, and it will be one of our tasks to point out anew the connection between the Hurrians and the Hebrews. Before that is done, however, we must examine briefly several biblical references to the patriarchs.

The main facts are clear enough. Abraham is the first one to be referred

⁶⁸ See Böhl, *Das Zeitalter Abrahams*, where the situation is admirably summarized. Cf. also Alt, *Der Gott der Väter*, Dhorme, "Abraham dans le cadre de l'histoire," *RB*, 1928, pp. 367 ff., and the corresponding passages in Albright, *Archaeology*, and Olmstead, *Palestine*.

to specifically as "the Hebrew."¹⁰⁰ After a sojourn in Harran, which was an important stage in his reported journey from Ur of the Chaldees, Abraham arrives in the Promised Land. In the course of his numerous subsequent wanderings, Egypt is visited, but Canaan remains the land of his choice. Through their marriages, Isaac and Jacob maintain the contacts with the middle Euphrates area, but it is in Egypt that Jacob and his family finally settle. The rise of Joseph contrasts sharply with the following period of Oppression, which leads at length to the Exodus and the ultimate Conquest of the Promised Land. Throughout the entire period the Euphrates and the Nile constitute the two termini in the wanderings of the patriarchs who provide in turn a living bridge between the two culture lands. This fact is of outstanding importance for our inquiry.

If Abraham had not been called a Hebrew, we should be nevertheless justified in classing him with the Habiru. He is plainly a soldier of fortune, forever on the move. In his case Hebrew or Habiru may be still applied in an appellative sense; in fact, the Septuagint does just that when it translates the word העברי as ὁ περάτης "he who has crossed over, transient." But we witness also a growing ethnic consciousness: the wives of Isaac and Jacob must be of Aramaic stock; even in later times the ancestor of the Israelites is remembered as a "wandering Aramaean,"¹⁰¹ or, perhaps better, a fugitive one. Moreover, a religious reason is said to have been the cause of Abraham's wanderings. We see thus in this particular Habiru group a strengthening of ethnic ties and the parallel evolution of certain religious ideas. There is certainly nothing illogical in the assumption that the history of the House of Abraham had many analogues among other Habiru groups, or that many Arameans were to be found among the Habiru.¹⁰²

There is today no reason to doubt the authenticity of the general background of the patriarchal narratives. In point of fact, recent discoveries have greatly increased our respect for their essential accuracy. It is not a question of the historicity of the principal persons involved; what is of moment in this connection is the fact that lives like theirs, full of apparently insignificant incidents, can now be duplicated or reconstructed, almost incident by incident, from a number of cuneiform records dating from the first half of the second millennium.

¹⁰⁰ Gen. 14. 13.

¹⁰¹ Dent. 26. 5. The meaning "fugitive" suits the context as well as "wandering" and is closer to the Akk. *abātu*, with which it has been linked.

¹⁰² Forrer (*Recher. d. Assyriol.*, 235) equates the Habiru with the Semitic merchants of the Cappadocian tablets. At any rate, there is no doubt that the Habiru were more prominent, and powerful, in the west than in Babylonia and Assyria.

To study the numerous parallels in social conditions as reflected in the Nuzi records and in the Pentateuch would require a lengthy monograph. A work of this type is now an urgent need. No justice can be done to the subject in a paper such as this where the space at our disposal is very limited. I must refrain, therefore, from doing more than merely calling attention to the correspondences which have been pointed out by Smith and Gadd,¹⁰² Albright,¹⁰³ and others,¹⁰⁴ adding only one or two fresh examples. The removal by Rachel of her father's house gods, which puzzled countless generations of biblical students, has received a simple and correct explanation through the publication of the Arrapha documents. We know now that according to Hurrian law the possession of such *teraphim* by the woman's husband insured title to the property of his father-in-law. Before her marriage to Jacob, there was not much that Rachel could do to prevent the exploitation of her patient suitor by the greedy Laban. But as soon as Jacob completed his term of service, she promptly took the law into her hands. Here is one of the incidents in the lives of the patriarchs, the true significance of which had probably been lost in pre-Davidic times. Other episodes have also received much illumination from the Nuzi documents. There is, e. g., the provision in one of the marriage contracts, that the bridegroom must not take to himself another wife unless the bride fails to bear him children. In that case, it devolves upon the woman to furnish a concubine from among the servants; the bride is enjoined to treat humanely the eventual offspring of that concubine.¹⁰⁵ This contract might have been written for Abraham and Sarah; nor was Sarah's treatment of Hagar in any way exceptional, the law finding it necessary to obviate such abuses. The entire episode would be a normal occurrence in Arrapha towards the middle of the second millennium; it could scarcely have been invented by the Hebrew writers of the first millennium. Another interesting analogue from Nuzi is a legal arrangement as to the disposition of the birthright: one of the parties acquires the rights of the firstborn, while the other, whose claims to the privilege would have been actually justified by reason of birth, is satisfied to accept a minor share in his father's estate;¹⁰⁶ the eldest son was, of course, entitled to a double share. The deal between Jacob and Esau involving the question of birthright was thus by no means unprecedented.

But we must not digress any further. Two things are made plain by this remarkable interrelationship of Hurrian and patriarchal documents. Firstly,

¹⁰² *RA* XXIII, 126 f.

¹⁰³ *Op. cit.*, 138 f.

¹⁰⁴ *Mesop. Orig.*, 162. Cf. also *JAOS* 52, p. 365.

¹⁰⁵ *ANNUAL* IX, 31 f.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 48 f.

the narratives of Genesis with which we have been concerned find a well authenticated background in contemporary extra-biblical sources. Secondly, there were intimate cultural contacts between the Habiru and the Hurrians, prior to the Amarna period at least.¹⁹⁷ It follows that we cannot afford to disregard lightly the information contained in the patriarchal stories, no matter what we may think about the historicity of the individual heroes. Since the minor incidents are demonstrably in keeping with the times, not to say conditioned by them, it is likely that the accounts of the migrations of Abraham and his descendants have some foundation in fact.¹⁹⁸ What we need is external confirmation of these accounts or, failing that, reliable indications that such movements fit well into contemporary history. In other words, the events must be examined from the Egyptian angle. Before this is done, however, it will be necessary to return for a moment to the question of Habiru-Hurrian relations.

We have seen that the Hurrians were a non-Semitic race occupying in the second millenium large portions of the Near East. The Habiru, on the other hand, were migratory groups, largely Semitic, found in practically the same areas in which the Hurrians are encountered. It is especially significant that Harran, which was at worst the secondary home of the patriarchs, lay in the heart of the Mitanni empire. In these circumstances it is not difficult to account for the cultural dependence of the Habiru upon the Hurrians. Nomadic or semi-nomadic groups will naturally borrow much from those settled

¹⁹⁷ It is still a question whether some of the racial characteristics of the modern Jews are to be attributed to the contacts of their ancestors with the Hurrians (*Mexop. Orig.*, 155), or whether they were acquired through intermarriages with "the Asiatics" at some other period. The former alternative appears to be the more probable one of the two.

¹⁹⁸ Gen. 14 is a potentially valuable document, but its precise background is still obscure. See the excellent discussion by Albright, *JSOR* N, 231 ff. Cf. also Böhl, *op. cit.*, 12 ff., and Dougherty, *Scandal of Arabia*, 33 ff. It is most unfortunate that some writers still maintain the philologically impossible and historically precarious equation of Amraphel ('*mrpl*') with Hammurabi. Albright's view that the biblical name contains the element Amarna (*loc. cit.*, 250) is unquestionably sound. It may be noted that the name *Anurrah/pi* (definitely with the element Amarna; wr. also *MA.R.TU-a-bi/pi*) is now attested in the Nuzi tablets; cf. *HSS* IX, 120.6.13; *RA* XXVIII, p. 39, text 7.2. Is '*mrpl*' in any way related to it? As for Arich ('*rik*'), the phonetic equivalence with the Hurrian name *Aricki* (cf. *RA* XXII, p. 156, text 53.27) is perfect. Whatever city (or land) Ellasar may represent, its repeated equation with the Babylonian Larsa by Langdon is unwarranted. Tidal is probably one of the Hittite kings who bore the name *Tudhaliyaš* (Böhl, *op. cit.*, 15 ff.), and Shinar is evidently *Singar* (Albright, *loc. cit.*, 256). But some vital links in this chain are still missing.

elements with whom they are in contact most frequently, especially when the wanderers themselves are about to change to a settled mode of life. The Habiru of Nuzi or of Harran would normally take over many of the Hurrian customs. Whether they were able to preserve their identity or were absorbed by the Hurrians was evidently in each case a question of respective numerical strength. At any rate, there must have been considerable racial intermixture between these differently organized elements.

It remains now to see whether the same two groups were capable also of political cooperation. It will be remembered that the Hurrians scattered over the Near East in the course and partly as a result of extensive ethnic movements, while the Habiru were no doubt aided in their own pursuits by the upheaval that was responsible for these migrations. The situation was manifestly favorable to military alliances. Before the above questions can be answered, however, we must turn for a while to Egyptian sources. Egypt too suffered from, and preserved some record of, the migrations of the second millennium. These records are, unfortunately, far from complete. One thing emerges none the less with sufficient clarity: the contemporary invasion of Egypt is ascribed to an indeterminate group of foreigners who are to figure in history as the Hyksos.

To touch upon the Hyksos problem is still much like stirring up a hornet's nest. Certain is only the conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos and their subsequent domination of the country for a considerable number of years; even the exact duration of the foreign rule is as yet in dispute. When it comes to identifying the invaders with any definite people or group of peoples, there is a disconcertingly wide range of conflicting opinions.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, recent discoveries have not been without some effect on this perplexing problem; certain aspects of it have lost much of their former vagueness and have acquired clearer outlines. But this process of crystallization has still a long way to go. Our own invasion of Egypt would in these circumstances be utter folly if we were not forced into it by the course which this inquiry has taken. Having found a common meeting ground for the Habiru and the Hurrians, we can no longer ignore the Hyksos. All three groups share the distinction of having participated in the migrations that we have been discussing. Does the relationship between the Habiru and the Hyksos extend beyond these external characteristics?

The purely general nature of the term Hyksos has already been indicated. The name meant originally "ruler of the foreign lands (desert)." In this

¹⁰⁰ See the valuable summary by W. Wolf, "Der Stand der Hyksosfrage," *ZDMG* 83, pp. 67 ff.

sense it is used of the Bedouin chieftain 'bš3, who is pictured in a painting from Beni Hasan, which dates from the Twelfth Dynasty. There were Hyksos, then, before the great invasion of Egypt; moreover, they were Semites. The same chieftain from Beni Hasan might have been called in Babylonia a Habiru, or rather a sheikh of the Habiru. By the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty the term Hyksos had ceased to designate "rulers," but was applied more generally to Asiatic "foreigners" as a group. To Munetha, who etymologizes the compound as "shepherd kings," the Hyksos were specifically the foreign invaders of Egypt.

That the great event of the freeing of the land from foreign domination made such a slight impression upon Egyptian writers is an indication of the poor historical sense of the Egyptians.¹¹⁰ Native sources show little interest in the whole matter; that is why there is today a Hyksos problem. Modern scholars have had to rely largely on the indirect method of deduction. It is evident that the Hyksos had arrived in Egypt by way of Palestine. The invaders made their last stand against Egyptian liberators on Palestinian soil; Hyksos scarabs and pottery, burials and fortifications, have been discovered in Palestine in a number of sites; ¹¹¹ the impetus gathered during the war of liberation carries Egyptian kings far into Syria; moreover, even at the height of the Hyksos power they had their capital close to the Asiatic border. Further support for the Asiatic origin of the Hyksos is derived from the fact that Egyptian potters revert to painted ornamentation during the time in question; vase-painting had been out of fashion in Egypt since the beginning of the historical age, but Syria and Palestine maintained the art all along; ¹¹² even more conclusive is the identity of certain motives on the painted Egyptian fabrics of the Hyksos age and on contemporary Asiatic wares.¹¹³ Archaeology furnishes also other corroborative arguments, but these need not be discussed here.¹¹⁴ The Asiatic origin of the Hyksos is universally conceded. It is equally plain, however, that the Near East of the pre-Amarna and Amarna periods sheltered a bewildering variety of ethnic, political, and social units. Which of these had supplied the Hyksos?

¹¹⁰ Cf. Gunn and Gardiner, "The Expulsion of the Hyksos," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1918, pp. 36 ff.

¹¹¹ For the archaeological sequence of the Hyksos remains see above, note 61.

¹¹² Cf. Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East* II, 166.

¹¹³ Especially the bird motive, cf. Frankfort, *ibid.*, 167, and Speiser, *Museum Journal* XXIII, pl. lxiv. Cf. also the references to the studies of Albright given in note 52.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Wolf, *op. cit.*, 74 f. The article of Jerin "Aufstieg und Untergang der Hyksos," *JPOS* XII, 51 ff., may be mentioned here for the sake of the literature which it lists.

They have been sought among the Cassites, Hittites, Indo-Iranians, Hurrians, and Semites. The most serious recent candidates have been the Semites and the Hurrians. In favor of the former it is held that among the Hyksos names found on scarabs the majority are clearly Semitic; this is an undeniable fact. Those who support the Hurrian claim point to the power of Mitanni in immediately post-Hyksos times;¹¹² that too is irrefutable, though less conclusive in its bearing on Egyptian history. The Indo-Iranians have been linked with the arrival of the horse in Egypt, an introduction datable to the Hyksos period; but the Aryans cannot be ridden into Egypt on horseback, as it were, for there may have been other intermediaries. The claims of the Cassites are too far-fetched, literally, and those of the Hittites anachronistic.

The one definite racial element among the Hyksos is Semitic; the onomastic evidence is direct in this respect. By the same token, however, the invaders must have consisted of other elements as well; for a percentage of Hyksos names is clearly non-Semitic; the best known being that of Hian, the king whose objects have been discovered as far apart as Crete and Baghdad. To conclude from this latter fact that the Hyksos empire extended at one time from the islands of the eastern Mediterranean all the way to Mesopotamia, as is sometimes done, indicates a degree of optimism that is entirely unwarranted by the meager evidence. At most, it may be assumed that relatives of the Hyksos were to be found in those areas, but not necessarily as rulers; foreign visitors could have brought with them objects inscribed with the name of their chieftain, without implying thereby any power on the part of that chieftain over the visited centers. At all events, it is clear that among the Hyksos there were other strains besides the Semitic. And, to have done with the linguistic material, some Hyksos bear good Egyptian names;¹¹³ here we have evidence of the assimilatory influence of the subjects upon their conquerors.

The non-Semitic component among the Hyksos cannot thus be identified on philological grounds. We must look, therefore, for other evidence. We have seen that the Hurrians have been mentioned prominently in this connection, too prominently perhaps, considering the nature of the arguments adduced. To my thinking, the Hurrian side could be pressed more strongly than has been done hitherto; with the distinct understanding, however, that

¹¹² Meyer, *Geschichte* II. 1 (1928), pp. 41 ff.; Pieper, *OLZ*, 1925, 417 f. Götze, *Herthiter-Reich*, 22, lacks the necessary proof, and Hrozný, *AOr* III, 288, fails to support his statement with any argument whatever.

¹¹³ Several Hyksos princes used the name Apopi.

the Semites cannot possibly be left out of the picture. First and foremost is the well established fact that the Hurrian migration, which coincides roughly in time with the invasion of the Hyksos, is the most extensive one about which we have any record. The conquest of Egypt was obviously the result of a migration of similar proportions. We have traced the Hurrians as far as the southern shores of the Dead Sea; there is no indication that the movement spent itself there and then without continuing towards the Nile Valley. It is certain that there were Hurrians in Egypt by the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, to judge from the names of captives brought back by the kings who had gone forth in pursuit of the Hyksos.¹¹⁷ These slaves are even called *Huru*, which we know to represent *Hurri*. To be sure, the name is now used generally for the adjoining Asiatic territory and its inhabitants; among the *Huru* slaves there are some who bear Semitic names. But the earlier power of the Hurrians is shown by the fact that the Egyptians had named the country after them. A similar argument is furnished by the Hyksos pottery found in Egypt. Its bird motives are Hurrian, as may be seen from the ample material of the Hurrian strata of Tell Billa and the Palestinian analogues.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, we have seen that the name of the Hyksos king *Hian* was found both in Crete and in Babylonia. These occurrences are indeed insufficient to prove Hyksos rule in these distant countries, but they bespeak nevertheless actual contacts with the Hyksos. Now we know definitely that Hurrians were present in Mesopotamia and that they had intimate cultural relations with the Aegean lands. Lastly, though I would not set as much weight by this argument as by the others, there is a possible linguistic survival of Hurrian in Egyptian. It is admitted that not only the horse but also the chariot were introduced into Egypt during the Hyksos period. The names for such importations are usually borrowed from the exporters or the intermediaries in the case. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover in the Egyptian terms for horse, parts of the chariot, reins, etc., evident Canaanite loanwords. Of the two words for the chariot itself, one is the good Semitic name *mrkb(t)*; the other one is *rrrjt*, for which there is no satisfactory Egyptian etymology;¹¹⁹ it is highly probable that the name is a borrowing like the rest.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Gustavs, *ZIS* 64, pp. 51 ff.

¹¹⁸ See above, note 113. A full discussion of the facts would require a separate article.

¹¹⁹ Wolf, *loc. cit.*, 73. Mr. Gunn has again been good enough to collect and interpret the Egyptian material on the subject. I give his note verbatim:

"One of the Egyptian words for "chariot" is first found at the very beginning of the 18th Dynasty, written *art* (Sethe, *Urkunden* IV, 3/61. Normally, however, in the 18th and 19th Dynasties, it is written *rrrjt*, sometimes more summarily *rrrt*, and the writing with one *r* seems hardly to reappear until the 8th century (cf. Stela of

Now the Hurrian term for chariot has recently been discovered, and it is not unlikely that we have here the prototype of *wrrjt*; ¹²⁰ but we know as yet too little about Hurrian phonology to make this derivation a certainty. Regard-

Piankhi, lines 30, 89)—a similar vacillation between *wr* and *wrr* is seen in three other words having this stem. The word is sometimes written with the chariot as ideogram, whether followed or not by the ending *t* (e.g. *Urkunden* IV, 692/2, 712/9, 10; Sphinx Stein, line 5), and this is pretty strong evidence for its being a native Egyptian word. In hieratic it occurs in a mixed "syllabic" and normal writing, the elements *w*, *j*, *t*, being written normally, while the second *r* is represented by a group mostly reserved for use in foreign words (e.g., Anast. Pap. I, 24/4 and cf. 19/5; d'Orbiney Pap. 17/4). Cases of native Egyptian words similarly written are however not rare; see on this Erman, *Neuacg. Gramm.*, 2nd edn., sect. 31. The final *t* can hardly be other than the feminine termination, which was still sounded before pronominal suffixes (examples Anast. Pap. I, *loc. cit.*), though it had in general dropped off; the fact that in Late Egyptian this was one of the comparatively few words which could still take the possessive suffix would appear to be further evidence for its native origin. The grammatical gender of the word is, already in Late Middle Egyptian (18th Dyn.), curiously variable; side by side with clear examples of its treatment as a feminine (e.g., *Urkunden* IV, 657/5, 663/12, 14), are many in which it is used as masculine (e.g., *Urk.* IV, 690/9, 692/2, 704/15, 712/9, 10, 717/11). The etymology of the word is obscure: the only Egyptian word from which it could be derived appears to be *wrr* "to be great". It may be added that "war-chariot" is not the only meaning of *wrrjt*; it is used also of chariots used by kings and others for excursions and travel.

"One difficulty in identifying the Egyptian *wrrjt*, *wr(j)t* "chariot" with the Hurrian *warat* (see below) is, that the former is written with the normal *t*-sign, which, when (as doubtless here) it represents the feminine ending, is mostly a merely historic writing, the feminine *t* having been dropped (except in *casus constructus* and before suffixes) many centuries before, leaving a short vowel as the termination; while on the other hand, in every case known to me in which the Egyptians heard a *t* at the end of a foreign word, that consonant is represented by one of the *t*-groups of the "syllabic" writing. B. G."

¹²⁰ The Hurrian word in question is *waratušhu*. The meaning is made clear by the context: *bitum (tum) wa-ra-ti-uš-hu qu-du ru-uk-bi-in-ma*, *HSS* V, 72, 13, and Speiser, *ANNUAL* X, 53 f., "the chariot-shed together with its chariots." (The sequel deals with stables.) The form is to be analyzed as *waratu-š-hu*, with the formative element *š*, and the adjectival suffix *hi* (here akkadianized to *hu*); for examples cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Syria*, 1931, p. 260; the word may be translated as "the (place) of chariots." Now Mr. Gunn has concluded that *wr(j)t* and its cognates are treated like other Egyptian words, even though their behavior as regards gender is unusual and their etymology obscure. Naturally, I defer to Mr. Gunn's decision as to the Egyptian angle of the question. On the other hand, in view of the fact that most of the related terms were borrowed by the Egyptians (Wolf, *loc. cit.*, 73), and that *wr(j)t* is first found in Egyptian at the time of the *waratu-š-hu* text, one wonders whether the former does not represent, after all, a thoroughly egyptianized designation. The preoccupation of the Hurrians with the subject is proved by the now classical text of the Mitannian Kikkul. New material may help to settle the problem.

less of the last point, there can be little doubt at present that the Hurrians constituted an important element among the Hyksos, in addition to the Semites.

Were there yet other strains among the invaders? The non-Semitic Hyksos names do not seem to be Hurrian either.¹²¹ Cuneiform sources of the second millennium confront us with Indo-Iranian elements in Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and with Indo-Europeanized strains in Asia Minor.¹²² If the ethnic composition of Palestine and Syria during the Amarna period may be taken as a cross-section of the Hyksos who had retreated from Egypt, then we must assume that there were also Indo-Iranians among the Hyksos. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the typical Hyksos fortification, which was so happily identified by Albright, is not normal in the Near East. We find thus an element that is still unidentified, and yet it is one of obvious importance, since it played a vital part in the military organization of the Hyksos. Is the new component to be connected with the Indo-Iranians, or does it represent yet another element? Plainly, we have reached the limits allowed for reasonable deduction. We may not know the answer to this question until we have located the ultimate force behind our migrations. Meanwhile it is time to "sign off" and to coordinate the results attained thus far.

We have seen, then, that the Hyksos were composed of several disparate groups. They were not simply Semites, or Hurrians, but definitely a conglomeration of Semites and Hurrians, with an admixture of other strains which defy identification for the present. Nor is it possible to determine when and where this combine was effected; it may have been organized in Syria or Palestine, or it may have grown on Egyptian soil. With at least one hundred years required for the Hyksos rule of Egypt, there enters into our considerations a distinct chronological factor. We have archaeological reasons for postulating an earlier and a later Hyksos period, and this stratification is likely to correspond with ethnic shifts within the Hyksos.¹²³ To judge from sources available to date, Semites and Hurrians, who formed manifestly the great majority of the Hyksos, were the first to conquer northern Egypt. For although Indo-Iranians appear in the cuneiform records from about the middle of the second millennium, they are absent in the earlier Hurrian documents (including those from Arrapha). At all events, they supplied in Mitanni a thin layer of ruling aristocracy, while the bulk of the

¹²¹ Notwithstanding the contrary assertion of Meyer, *loc. cit.*, 42.

¹²² Cf. Mironov, *Armen Vestiges*.

¹²³ For the archaeological sequence of the Hyksos remains see above, note 61.

population was heterogeneous. We are thus back to the Habiru-Hurrian partnership, which we have seen at work in the middle Euphrates area, and whose trail has been picked up in Egypt. There remains, however, the possibility that the Habiru were the first to overrun the Delta, having been driven thither by waves of Hurrians set in motion by the larger migration.

How does this blend of facts and theories fit in with the patriarchal narratives? Abraham's visit to Egypt does not have the characteristics of a movement on a larger scale.¹²⁴ It gives rather the impression of a peaceful entry, much in the manner of the caravan portrayed at Beni Hasan, with which it has often and rightly been compared, though the two sheikhs need not, of course, be viewed as contemporaries. But several generations later the situation is markedly different. This time it is the entire "House of Jacob" that comes down to Egypt and stays there; in other words, a proper migration is recorded. It is hardly necessary to point out afresh how easily the career of Joseph shades off into the Hyksos background. Our historical difficulties date from a later period, the time of the king who knew not Joseph. They center around two principal problems: the relation of the Israelites to the Habiru-Hebrews, and the nature and date of the Exodus.

Thus far we have had a fair proportion of facts to serve as a foundation for theories. With the rise of the Hyksos, however, the faint flow of information comes to a sudden halt. External and Egyptian sources become strangely silent at this point. The Old Testament is now our only guide and, although archaeology has taught us to respect its accounts, history cannot approve them for the time being for want of extra-biblical corroboration. It is indeed a dark interlude between the death of Joseph and the Conquest of Canaan. Having brought us to a dead end, our discussion must now be concluded; but the conclusion will be less abrupt if we interpose a tentative working hypothesis.

It goes without saying that we are not concerned here with the later tribal composition of Israel and Judah; this is purely an inner-biblical problem. Our interest is confined to the relation of Israel, the term being broadly representative of the descendants of Jacob, to the larger Hebrew group. There can now be little serious opposition to identifying the Semitic element among the Hyksos with an offshoot of the Habiru, which is traceable to Abraham העברי, i. e., "the nomad." It follows that these Habiru participated in the Hyksos rule of Egypt; they must not be confused with the Habiru of the Amarna letters, who threaten Palestine long after the expulsion of the Hyksos. The enemies of ARAD-Heba and of the other vassals of Egypt clearly belong

¹²⁴ Cf. Peet, *Egypt and the Old Testament*, 47 ff.

to a later wave. ARAD-Hepa himself is a Hurrian;¹²⁵ his ancestors arrived apparently with the other Hyksos, in a group that was strong enough to cause Palestine to be called Huru by the Egyptians. The expulsion of the Hyksos did not entail, of course, their complete extermination, and it is not unnatural to find a Hurrian prince in Jerusalem during the latter part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. That he is apprehensive of the Habiru in common with the other princes of Palestine and Syria is but another indication that the Josephite and the Amarna Habiru belonged to different movements that were centuries apart. For we have seen that the earlier Semitic invaders had made common cause with the Hurrians.

We must emphasize this distinction between the Habiru, or Hebrews, of the patriarchal period and those of the Amarna age. Which of these groups was responsible for the Israelites? Undoubtedly both, though not to the same extent. Tradition traces back the formation of Israel as a nation to the period of the sojourn in Egypt, or more specifically, to the time of oppression. Tradition names also religion as a vital distinguishing characteristic between the "Israelites" and their neighbors. There is evidently an element of truth in both accounts. We know that racial differences alone were not decisive in this connection. There were Habiru in Egypt even after the Exodus,¹²⁶ no matter how late we place its date; for we find the 'Apiru down to the time of Ramesses IV, as late as the Twentieth Dynasty, long after the reported defeat of the Israelites in Palestine according to the famous passage in the stele of Merneptah. The Exodus did not involve therefore all the Habiru of Egypt. On the other hand, it is equally plain that all the tribes, as we know them from biblical history, cannot be derived from Egypt. The dual conquest of Canaan, from the north as well as from the south, is now scarcely open to doubt. In short, we cannot but assume ultimate cooperation between the followers of Moses and a section of the northern invaders. But just as was the case in Egypt, all Hebrews did not come under Israel. The

¹²⁵ Maier's argument that this prince was an Amorite (*Untersuchungen*, 37, and *JPOS* X, 189), is wholly unconvincing. The fact that he used in his letters a Semitic dialect carries no more weight in this connection than the Akkadian letters of Tushratta. Hepa is a demonstrably Hurrian goddess (*Gustavs, Ta'anek*, 10) and her admission into the Amorite pantheon is far from established. Even in Davidic times Jerusalem is inhabited by the non-Semitic clan of Jebusites, and Arawim is certainly not an Amorite name. To say with Maier that the Jebusites arrived in the land after 1300 B. C. is to beg the question.

¹²⁶ Cf. the material collected by Mr. Gunn, note 93. It is hardly necessary to point out anew that the term *'ibri*, when its use is attributed by the Bible to the Egyptians, is employed as a general designation. It refers manifestly to the Semitic Ashuties without differentiating between the peoples or tribes in question.

events that led up to the emergence of the nation, even in that inchoate state in which we find it under David, are still obscure for the most part. In these circumstances we cannot go far wrong if we give tradition the benefit of the doubt and accept its verdict to the effect that much of the implied organization and preliminary effort took place as a measure of self-defence against Egypt.

Nor can we go wrong if we call a halt at this point. The indulgence of the reader must not be exposed to further test. Speculations, however legitimate, must be anchored to something definite; at this stage of our study the last bit of support for conjectures disappears, and it is not our province to resume investigations at the other edge of the gap. The subject or set of subjects, which we have been considering is much like an enormous jigsaw puzzle, fascinating and infinitely complicated. The outlines of the picture are becoming visible, and links have appeared between individual figures. But the whole tableau is still incomplete, because some of the pieces have not been fitted and others are still missing.

THE EXCAVATION OF TELL BEIT MIRSIM

IA: THE BRONZE AGE POTTERY OF THE FOURTH CAMPAIGN

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I. INTRODUCTION.

Two years after the third campaign at Tell Beit Mirsim in southwestern Judaea, we undertook a fourth campaign there (June–August, 1932), also under the joint auspices of the Pittsburgh–Xenia Theological Seminary and the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. As before, Dr. M. G. Kyle acted as president of the staff, while the writer served as director of the excavation. Just before the completion of the present study, on May 25th, 1933, Dr. Kyle passed away, after an illness of a few days, so that he may be truly said to have fulfilled his ambition to “die in harness.” We wish to dedicate this study of the pottery of his beloved site to his memory. Our debt of gratitude to him for his loyal coöperation and his unswerving friendship, and for his unselfish devotion to the advancement of scholarship can never be repaid.

In this paper it will not be necessary to describe the history and the results of the fourth campaign, except in so far as they bear on the ceramic chronology. A preliminary account of the campaign will be found in *Bulletin* No. 47, pp. 3–17 (reproduced almost entirely in *AJA* XXXVI, 556–64). We wish here to express our hearty thanks to the members of the staff who collaborated on the drawing of our pottery, particularly to Messrs. A. Henry Detweiler, John Bright, Eugene Liggitt, and Stephen M. Reynolds, and Dr. Cyrus Gordon. Mr. Bulos Araj also assisted in this work after the close of the campaign. Mr. Detweiler, the architect of the expedition, not only drew many of the vases himself, but also assisted in checking and correcting the work of the others. As before, *all* drawings have been carefully checked by comparison with the originals. The tracings for the plates found in this paper were prepared by Dr. Dorothy K. Hill, who exercised the same meticulous care as before. The writer has also checked all of her tracings, in order to ensure detailed accuracy in rims, bases, decoration, etc. The photographs were nearly all made by Dr. W. F. Stinespring with the photographic apparatus of the School. Several we owe to our good friend, Dr. Aage Schmidt of Copenhagen.

While this is not the place to express our obligations to the many friends and officials who have assisted us in various ways, we must mention the names

of Mr. Richmond, Director of Antiquities, and of the successive directors of the American School in Jerusalem, Professors Millar Burrows and Nelson Glueck, as well as of Dr. C. S. Fisher, Père Vincent, and Mr. Alan Rowe, who helped us generously from the stores of their experience and knowledge. To Dr. Fisher, who has advised us from the beginning of the first campaign, we stand under peculiar obligation.

Since the results of the fourth campaign supplement and correct the results of the first three campaigns in many respects, we have decided to publish the Bronze Age pottery at once. We now have important new material for all the periods of the Bronze Age represented in our site, and strata H, G, and E, especially the third, are illustrated by a mass of new material, selections from which are herewith published. For the method of approach and the point of view we may refer to the Preface to Vol. I of the Tell Beit Mirsim publication. So far not a single undisturbed grave has been discovered at Tell Beit Mirsim, so that all our pottery comes from occupation levels, and practically all is fixed stratigraphically beyond cavil. The stratigraphic observations of the first three campaigns were fully confirmed in the fourth one, in which the area examined was very greatly increased.

The text is followed by a Table of Contents, a List of Abbreviations, a Table of Archaeological Periods, and an Index of the Pottery in the Plates, which will provide the necessary aids to the student, just as in TBM I. Complete lists of the provenience of pottery, with tables of room-groups, etc., will appear in later volumes.

We intend to publish the results of our excavation in a series of volumes in the *ANNUAL*, supplemented by monographs like the present one. The second volume will be devoted to the Bronze Age (omitting the pottery), while a third volume will treat the Iron Age in the same way.

11. THE POTTERY OF STRATUM J (EARLY BRONZE III).

1. The pottery of the Early Bronze Age¹ in Palestine is still difficult to classify chronologically, though we now have an abundance of material for

¹ It must again be emphasized that this term is purely conventional, and has little meaning with regard to the relative quantity of bronze which was in use, or the perfection of metallurgic technique; cf. *Bulletin*, 48, 12. It would be much better to substitute the terms "Early Copper, Middle Copper, Late Copper" for the present ones. While bronze was hardly employed at all in Egypt and Palestine before the Middle Bronze, it was known long before. Recent analyses of samples from the royal tombs of Ur and other early Sumerian sites have proved that bronze was employed at a very early age in Mesopotamia. Engelbach, Reisner, and others have also shown that the Egyptians of the Pyramid Age (chronologically equivalent to our EB II) were well acquainted with the art of hardening copper, probably by a tempering process of great

typology. Thanks to the soundings of Petrie and Macdonald in the Wadi Ghazze^h ² we now know more about the transition from Chalcolithic ³ to EB,

efficiency but only temporary in its effect. This fact certainly explains the relative scarcity of bronze at that period in Egypt. The bronze sample from Teleilat el-Ghassâl does not, therefore, prove a late date; contrast Mallon, *Biblica*, 14, 208 f.

² See TF II, 1-21, and *Bulletin*, 48, 11 ff.

³ The Chalcolithic Age is rapidly emerging from the complete obscurity in which it was enveloped five years ago. Besides the British explorations just mentioned there is now very interesting material from Byblos, where Dunand discovered (1932) a necropolis of this age, not yet published. Of paramount importance is, of course, the site of Teleilat el-Ghassâl, being excavated by Père Mallon for the Pontifical Biblical Institute (see now his latest account, *Syria*, XIII, 334-44). For our views see TBMI, § 5 and especially *Bulletin*, 48, 10-13, and 50, 0-10, where the four strata of Ghassâl are dated in the second half of the fourth millennium. In *Biblica*, 14, 202-11, Père Mallon defends his position in detail; our arguments are not weakened in the least. The writer would, however, like to express his regret for a misunderstanding with regard to Mallon's original chronology. It is true that the latter called his site at first purely "éculithique," but he used the term then in the same sense as that in which Dunan and others employed "neolithic," i. e., as the designation for all pottery antedating Macalister's First Semitic, the beginning of which Mallon seems to have placed about 2000 B. C., as may be inferred from remarks of his in various articles written before the commencement of work at Ghassâl. Since 1921, however, the writer has pushed the date of the "neolithic" back into the fourth millennium (see especially JPOS II, 130 ff.), and so when Père Mallon and he used "néolithique" (for which the expression "chalcolithic" is now to be substituted), they were thinking in different chronological terms. Our worthy antagonist is thus correct in his remarks in *Biblica*, 14, 202 f., n. 3, and the writer is happy to apologize for the misunderstanding in *Bulletin*, 48, 11, line 21. This one injustice, however, is compensated for by misunderstandings on Père Mallon's part. Thus, e. g., the long note on pp. 203 ff. is superfluous in so far as it is devoted to the writer's suggestion that the four strata of Ghassâl may only have lasted 300-400 years. This figure was expressly termed "a guess which illustrates the reasonableness of a low estimate." A propos of this Père Mallon says: "La formation d'un tell n'doît pas à me loi mathématique." Of course not!—cf. the writer's numerous identical observations, e. g., ZAW 1929, 9, n. 2, where he gives illustrations of the irregularity with which debris accumulated at different periods and in different places. The writer's suggestion was intended to make the chronological situation more vivid to a non-specialist. Specialists have no trouble in realizing that the four strata of Ghassâl may cover only a century or two—or may extend over several centuries.

In preparing the article in the *Bulletin*, the writer overlooked the important paper by Mallon and Nenville in *Syria*, 1931, 24-47, which is very regrettable, since this study devoted mainly to the cave deposit of Umm Qatifa, offers very important corroboration of the chronology which we defend. Substitute the fourth millennium for the third, and our results coincide. But the entire Early Bronze cannot simply be eliminated from the picture. Nor is the attempt to show that the Ghassâlian and Early Bronze cultures existed side by side through the third millennium admissible. The

and can probably, with the aid of Guy's recent discoveries at Megiddo,⁴ distinguish certain characteristics of EB I, which we define as the first phase of Early Bronze in Palestine. EB II, which is now well represented by pottery

time when different ceramic cultures could be synchronized in date and assigned to different racial elements of the same civilization has passed. Petrie's assignment of the Negada culture to a new race, placed at the end of the Old Empire, was soon given up by the author of the theory, just as it has been given up more recently by Christlan. No one accepts Duncan's more recent theory that certain types of pottery found in the Ophel excavations were made by the Jebusite part of the population at the same time that other types were made by the Israelite part! Nor do any classical archaeologists adopt the extraordinary view of the hoary veteran, Doerpfeld, that Mycenaean and geometric wares were employed side by side in the Early Iron and the preceding age. In a small country like Palestine it is also not reasonable to admit too pronounced cultural lags; relative poverty does not necessarily imply the total absence of better artifacts. It is, of course, well-known that different types of pottery were manufactured at different places, though many common types were made everywhere, with little variation except in the composition of the paste and the character of the tempering material. But these different types were diffused widely by commerce, migratory movement, social intercourse of many forms, so what we find in any given site is nearly always a cross-section of the pottery types characteristic of the entire country or district in a given period. From Père Mallon's observations in the note on pp. 204-5 one might (erroneously?) infer that he believed in the survival of primitive methods of making pottery in Palestine until the present day. That the local potters of today employ just as primitive methods as their predecessors of the Ghassulian (with far inferior results in many cases) is true, but these processes have undoubtedly been reintroduced or possibly even rediscovered since the Byzantine age. In no site in Palestine belonging to the intervening ages, particularly to Early Iron II-III, and to Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, can this crude hand-made pottery be found. Any archaeologist who is accustomed to digging in Arab strata knows how characteristic this modern local ware is. For an amateur in ceramics the commonest diagnostic error is precisely that of confusing EB with locally made modern Arabic sherds.

⁴ See TBM I, xv; *Bulletin*, 48, 13; *AJA* XXXVII, 169 a. This discovery by Guy is very important, since it proves that the course of development was more complex than supposed by the writer (TBM I, §§ 1-6). We must now assume that the ledge-handle with outer edge decorated with finger impressions (Guy's two lower floors) preceded the wavy ledge-handle (Guy's upper floor). At Petrie's site II in the Wādī Ghazzeh we have both types together, indicating that the settlement at II overlapped the occupation of the superimposed floors at Megiddo (allowing, of course, for a possible lag in the northward movement of this class of pottery). The earliest appearance of ledge-handles in Palestine seems to be illustrated by the simple knobs or projections from Umm Qatufu (Mallon and Nenville, *Syria*, 1931, 39; cf. *Biblica*, 14, 200, n. 1), followed by the ledges with finger impressions. Of course, we can hardly admit a continuous local evolution, since the latter class of ledge-handles may be an innovation rather than a development of a type already known. It is, in any case, most unlikely that the wavy ledge-handle evolved directly from the one with finger impressions, since the former occurred exclusively in southern and central Palestine, and can thus hardly be

from many parts of Palestine, must cover a period of several centuries, probably running approximately parallel to the Pyramid Age in Egypt (Dynasties III-VI, cir. 2700-2400 in the writer's low chronology).⁵ This period is illustrated by the bulk of the EB pottery from Tell el-Hesi, Jerusalem, Bâb ed-Drâ', Jericho, etc., in southern Palestine, and from Beth-yerah, Tell el-Qassis, etc., in northern Palestine.⁶ While much of our J pottery belongs roughly to the same general type, it appears to be rather later, and thus to fall into the category of EB III, which is typologically best illustrated by the rich deposits found by Garstang in his 'Tomb A' at Jericho (1931). The pottery from this tomb has already been published (JG, pl. II-VIII, XXVI-XXVIII), and will be discussed in connection with our detailed study of the J pottery below. Tomb A still contains wavy ledge-handles, and thus precedes our period I, with its folded or envelope handles. Garstang terms the pottery of Tomb A MB I, and says: "A relatively big gulf separates the local ceramic art of the M.B.A. i from that of M.B.A. ii, and if nothing is found to fill the gap in the course of further excavation, it would appear that the rise of the Hyksos period was accompanied by a

separation from the Lower Egyptian wavy handle, which continued in use down to the First Dynasty, after which it died out. On the Egyptian handle see now the remarks of Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pp. 136, (7) and 147, (6). Since the backward extension of the EB of southern Palestine into the period of the First Dynasty is proved by Petrie's work at Abydos (cf. TBM I, § 6), a connection between the wavy handles of Palestine and Egypt thus seems most probable. Incidentally, the new material removes a serious difficulty in the way of this view: whereas it formerly seemed necessary to pass from the Egyptian prototype to the Palestinian form by a bridge which led over the Egyptian form which best resembled the Palestinian, we may now consider the Palestinian wavy ledge-handle as due to a combination of the ledge form already in use with the wavy treatment of the corresponding Egyptian handle. Our chronology is, at all events, quite independent of the wavy ledge-handle. The Early Bronze began not later than the middle of the First Dynasty, and probably not later than its beginning. Site II in the Wâdi Ghazzeh, which forms the transition from Ghassulian to EB, falls somewhere in the last quarter of the fourth millennium and the first quarter of the third (pre-supposing the accuracy of the low Egyptian chronology maintained by us, which places Meuse in the twenty-ninth century).

⁵ For the pottery of the Old Empire in Egypt see now especially Reisner, *Mycerinus*. In general the types of pottery are very different, but there are many points of contact in detail. An interesting parallel (not important in itself) may be drawn between potter's marks of the Old Empire and of EB in Palestine; cf., e.g., the pentagram. Brunt, *Qau and Badari I*, 68 f., pl. XXXIV: 15-6, with one published by Bliss (BM, pl. 29: 42 = THB 23, No. 20). For the chronology of the Old Empire cf. the references given TBM I, § 4.

⁶ The writer hopes to publish his pottery collections from Beth-yerah and Bâb ed-Drâ' in the near future: selected material has been drawn and photographed for publication.

change in local culture more profound than that which marks the transition between the phases known as the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Ages of current theory" (JG 42 f.). As we shall see, the two periods are separated by strata I-H, corresponding to the *Spätkanaanitisch* of Watzinger's *Jericho*, as well as by our following strata G-F. If I-II fall, as appears almost certain, between the twenty-first and the nineteenth centuries, stratum J and the contemporary Tomb A of Jericho, which must have been in use for a century or two, as pointed out by Garstang (JG 42), must be dated between the twenty-third and the twenty-first centuries, roughly speaking, or two-three centuries earlier than the excavator's tentative chronology. Père Vincent also (if I am not mistaken in quoting from our conversation) regards Tomb A of Jericho as representing EB III rather than MB I.

2. Drawings and photographs of selected J pottery from our fourth campaign are given in pl. 1, 19: 1, 20: 20-40. This collection is larger and more diversified than the material found in the third campaign (TBM I, pl. 1-2). First we have the store-jars 1: 1-2, which I have not been able to duplicate in the published material of this age, though the flat base (often slightly concave, as here) and the form of the body are common. The shape and height (estimated at about 80 cm. in the case of No. 1 and at about 90 cm. in No. 2) are nearly the same as in the pithos from Jericho, A, 2a (J, pl. 20),⁷ but our mouths flare much more. All three have rounded, thickened lips, but our two are differently shaped. Since Watzinger's *Kanaanitisch* corresponds roughly to our J (TBM I, § 7 ff.), the resemblances are significant. Our jars undoubtedly had wavy ledge-handles, as usual in this age. Examples, in addition to those previously published, are given in pl. 20: 20-4. (which need not all have come from store-jars; cf. Pl. 1: 3-5). No. 1 is reddish buff, of very coarse clay; No. 2 is buff, of coarse clay, pattern-combed in coarse strokes, such as are characteristic of all pattern-combing of large vases in stratum J. The deep, open vessels with flat bottoms and wavy ledge-handles (pl. 1: 3-4) cannot be paralleled in the published literature, an accident due to the fact that they are not found in tomb-groups, and that complete specimens have not been recovered elsewhere. No. 3, which is buff, pattern-burnished on the exterior surface, has two wavy ledge-handles, a side-spout with a characteristic projecting lower lip, and a pronounced, inverted rim. No. 4 is buff, coarsely combed on the outer surface; it has two wavy ledge-handles and a slightly projecting flat rim. No. 5 represents a very common EB jug with wavy ledge-handles, set rather lower than usual in this example; the surface is buff, plain.

⁷ The tracing of this vase given CPP 30 D is very inaccurate, and the captions for 2a and 2b have been interchanged, an error which is characteristic of this handbook.

3. Turning to the sherds illustrated pl. 20: 25-40, we note the squat jug with a flaring mouth and two loop handles on the shoulders, buff surface, and a potter's mark incised on the shoulder before baking (No. 25). We have not been able to duplicate the form elsewhere, though the elements are characteristically EB; the nearest analogy comes from Tell el-Hesi (THB, pl. 3, No. 84). The potter's mark belongs to the class described from Tell el-Hesi by Bliss (THB 21-33, Nos. 1-68; BM, pl. 29), though not identical with any found there. All these marks were incised before baking, and are hence potter's marks, not owner's marks. Owner's marks of the same general nature also appear in the Chalcolithic of Ghassil (*Biblica*, 1931, 264 ff., though nearly all the marks collected by the excavators have since proved to be native forgeries, made by scratching the sherds). We also have them on late predynastic and early dynastic pottery in Egypt (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. XLVII-LVIII), as well as on pottery of the Old Empire and the First Intermediate Age (Brunton, *Qau and Badari I*, 68 f., pl. XXXIV), i. e., on pottery contemporaneous with the ceramic on which these marks are found in Palestine.

4. Pl. 20: 26 (cf. No. 34) is a side-spout, like that in 1: 3: for a discussion see TBM I, § 8A. This type of spout is as characteristic of the Old Empire in Egypt as of the contemporary EB of Palestine. No. 27 is an example of the characteristic J lamp, a number of fragments of which have been found in the course of our work. The shallow form, with four pinched wick-mouths and a flat base, also occurs in Tomb A at Jericho (JG, pl. XXVIII: 15). Quite similar in form is the small, shallow bowl with flat bottom and five pinched wick-mouths described by Brunton from the First Intermediate (cir. 23rd-22nd century) of Upper Egypt (*Qau and Badari II*, pl. LXXXII: 8Z). Nos. 28-31 illustrate decoration by incision in period J. The herring-bone pattern with parallel lines below (Nos. 28, 30-1) is particularly popular. For contemporary illustrations cf. J 99, figs. 78-9 (Watzinger's *Kanaanitisch*): G III, pl. CL (First Semitic of Macalister). Nos. 22-3 are pattern-combed in the fine stroke characteristic of smaller and better-made vessels; cf. TBM I, § 7. Good illustrations of the fine pattern-combing come from Tell el-Hesi and Gezer in the south, and from Beth-yerah and Tell el-Qassis in the north, among sites already excavated or explored. Nos. 35-40 are inverted rims of the typical EB form (cf. TBM I, § 8); all are burnished with red ocher (haematite) slip in various shades of red and brown, while Nos. 35, 38-40 are pattern-burnished on the inside. In our previous publication we could not report the ascription of any such sherds to stratum J; we now have ample material of certain stratigraphic provenience. Note the various patterns illustrated by our sherds: No. 38 has a criss-cross design.

No. 35 offers horizontal lines (concentric with the rim) crossed by transverse lines at an oblique angle, Nos. 39 and 40 have a band of concentric lines at the rim, followed by a wide band of parallel oblique lines, after which come more concentric lines as we approach the center of the inside. Cf. the examples illustrated BM, pl. 27: 3, 7-9.

5. On pl. 1: 7-10 are shown four vases, all of which probably belong to stratum J, but of which we can only say, stratigraphically, that they antedate G. Typologically, however, all belong to J except possibly No. 7, which we cannot duplicate at present elsewhere. No. 8, a squat jug with two vestigial lug-handles and a brownish buff slip, burnished in vertical strokes, has very close analogies in Tomb A of Jericho (JG), especially in pl. VI: 17, which has the same form and size, but has two vertical loop-handles, and in pl. VIII: 17, which has the same form and also has four vestigial handles of our type. Another jug of our form, but with handles like VI: 17, is XII: 11 = XX: b: 2, in a context parallel to our J-H. No. 9, which was originally covered with a burnished red slip, illustrates the typical form of bowls with inverted rims in EB II-III; for parallels cf. JG, pl. IV: 19, etc. No. 10, a one-handed juglet, with traces of burnished red slip on a buff surface, belongs to a type illustrated by a great many examples in Tomb A of Jericho (JG, pl. II, especially No. 5, with nearly the same size and shape, and with red burnished slip). J, pl. 21, Watzinger illustrates some juglets of this general type, calling them *Kanaanitisch*, which nearly everywhere corresponds to Garstang's Tomb A period. Similar vases appear also BM, pl. 24: 4J, 5S, where they are assigned to the early pre-Israelite age. CPP 60: T 5-6 assigns them erroneously to "Dyn. XV," solely on the basis of fancied analogies in form with the Tell el-Yahūdiyah jugs.

III. THE POTTERY OF STRATA I AND II (MIDDLE BRONZE I).

6. Stratum I has not fared as well as we had hoped in our latest campaign, though there can be no doubt whatever that it represents an independent stratum. However, thanks to the great relative increase in our pottery of certain II provenience, found mostly in the rich II deposit in a cave in SE 13, we can now distinguish more clearly between I and II. In particular, we find that the folded wavy ledge-handle (the envelope-handle of Guy) is apparently restricted to I, since it was found again this season in a level below the II stratum, and it does not appear at all in homogeneous J or II deposits. Our results thus confirm the previous conclusions (TBM I, § 15) in this respect. In addition to what was said before about its distribution in Palestine, it should be added that Guy has found numerous examples of this type of handle at Megiddo, also in association with the decadent EB pottery of our period.

The samples of I sherds given in TBM I, pl. 3, are correctly attributed, except perhaps in the case of a very few intrusive J sherds. These samples were collected from the I stratum just inside the city wall south of the East Gate, and since they came from below the ash level separating I from the next higher stratum, II, with no visible break in the continuity of the layer of ash, we cannot admit intrusion from above, though intrusion from stratum J is quite possible, since sherds of the earlier age may have been washed down or otherwise displaced from higher elevations on the site, which slopes from the center toward the line of the city wall. I represents a true transition from EB to MB I, with the latter dominant (see below for further data on the pottery of I).

7. Thanks to our extensive new material from stratum II, this period can be described much more clearly than before. We have now, in particular, a large number of complete or nearly complete vessels. In our discussion we shall, of course, presuppose TBM I, §§ 11-19. Since many of our types begin in period I, we shall discuss I as well, when the occasion arises. On pl. 2 are illustrated store-jars of II, all characterized by a slender ovate body with flat base, by a flaring neck and mouth, which joins the body at a relatively sharp angle, and by incised decoration on the shoulder; nearly all are provided either with vestigial lug-handles (No. 7) or with conical knob-handles (Nos. 1, 3-4). The paste is most characteristic, being grayish buff, yellowish gray, or gray with a greenish tinge in most cases, with comparatively little grit, and lightly baked as a rule (reddish buff color is rare). All this pottery is hand-made. For photographs of these vases see pl. 19: 2-4, and for sherds see pl. 20: 2-5 and 21: 1, 8-9, 13-4, 23, as well as TBM I, pl. 3: 1-3 (from I), 4: 38, 40-1, etc. Up to the present this type of store-jar is little known in Palestine, and examples have only been published from Jericho (J 108-9, figs. 54-7—No. 97 has a profile and plastic band with finger impressions like our No. 8, except that the band is lower on the shoulder—; JG, pl. XII: 10) and from Tell el-'Ajûl, where the parallel material is probably more archaic, as we shall see presently. The examples from Jericho belong to Watzinger's *Spätkanaanitisch*, which corresponds closely to our I-II, especially to the former, as was shown in TBM I. Here also the ware is described as light in color with the same nuances ("rosarot oder hellbraun bis grau"), and the pottery is made by hand. Watzinger also calls attention to the fact that this pottery shows a great advance over EB ware in the direction of more homogeneous paste and more even firing. At Tell el-'Ajûl (TA I, §§ 14-6: 11, §§ 6-9) Petrie found three types of tombs in a necropolis which he assigned to the "Copper Age," and synchronized roughly with the Fifth-Sixth Dynasties in Egypt—a relative date which is too high, as we shall see. In the tombs

of the earliest type (A) he found pottery which seems to belong to an early phase of our I-II, perhaps in part contemporary with the former. This pottery, illustrated TA II, pl. XXIX: 30F-J, consists largely of ovate, flat-based jars, often with a shoulder-spout, and nearly all provided with two vestigial wavy ledge-handles (like our example, pl. 20: 1), sometimes reduced to a plastic band with wavy contours. All this ware is weakly baked and yellowish gray ("pale drab") in color. With these large jars occur smaller ones of practically the same form as some of our I-II types; cf. below. In the tombs of later form (B and C) are found taller ovate jars resembling ours more closely both in form and often in incised decoration, though vestigial ledge-handles still occasionally appear. The proportions are still, however, less elegant than in our ovate jars (pl. 2); the ratio of height to diameter is 1: .70-.75 in the former and 1: .55-.57 in the latter. Unfortunately no complete jars from stratum I are preserved, so we cannot tell whether the tombs of class B correspond more closely to I or to H. The absolute date will be discussed below.

8. On pl. 3 are whole and reconstructed vessels of H. Most interesting are the caliciform bowls and cups, Nos. 1-3, 5, 8-9, nearly all decorated with incised ornament. Sherds of caliciform vases with incised ornament are shown in pl. 20: 9-15; 21: 6-7, 26. Numerous other sherds of this type are illustrated in TBM I, pl. 3-7, where some appear to be wrongly attributed to G-F. During our fourth campaign we were unable to find any positive proof that this type survived into G-F, whereas we obtained an abundance of negative evidence. It would seem, therefore, that the sherds of this type listed previously as belonging to G were in part intrusive, i. e., were washed or brought down in some way from exposed remains of period H higher up on the hill into the G-F strata lower down. Others we may have attributed erroneously to stratum G because of their resemblance to those found in loci which were certainly between the H and the F conflagration levels. That the type survived sporadically into G-F is, however, to be considered as probable, though by no means certain. In his "Copper Age" pottery of Tell el-'Ajûl Petrie records four cups of this class, shaped much like our 3: 9, but half again as large; all are decorated with plain incised bands or lines. Here again our H ware represents a definitely more advanced stage. A very important difference is that, whereas all the Tell el-'Ajûl pottery of this age is hand-made, according to Petrie, many of our smaller vases, in particular the caliciform vases, are wheel-made, though not in the finished technique of MB II.

9. The bowls and wide-mouthed jugs of stratum H are fairly varied in form. For the buff vase 3: 4 cf. also the photo, 20: 6; the flanged rim implies

the use of a lid. The reddish buff vases 3:6 and 11 seem to be unique; the latter is hand-made and is decorated with horizontal furrows. Nos. 7 and 11, both buff, decorated with band-combing, are interesting because of the combination of a tendency toward carination with a flat base: the same general form appears in 24 F at Tell el-'Ajûl (cf. also the contemporary bowl 22 N 61). A similar form is No. 15, a grayish buff bowl with slight carination and flat base, where the shoulder is provided with two conical knob-handles of the same form as on the large ovoid jars. The most common type of bowl, however, is one which cannot be illustrated yet by a complete drawing; sherds are exceedingly abundant. This is the ribbed bowl with inverted rim and flat base, discussed TBM I, § 12, end, which was employed to a greater or less extent throughout I-F, especially in II-G. For photos of sherds cf. pl. 20: 7-8a, 21: 10-12, 15-6, 18-22, 27-9, as well as the photos previously published. The ribbed bowls numbered 6 R at Tell el-'Ajûl (TA I, pl. XXXVII) are somewhat similar, but have more pronounced ribbing and more vertical shoulder, standing thus between the ribbed bowls of EB (found, e. g., at Bâb ed-Drâ') and ours of I-F. This relation again appears to indicate a slightly higher age for the material from Tell el-'Ajûl.—The bowl 3:12 is not very distinctive; we know of no exact parallel.

10. Comparatively few types of loop-handled or lug-handled vessels appear at Tell Beit Mirsim in stratum H. By far the most common form is 3:10, a squat two-handled jug with flat bottom, generally with incised decoration on the shoulder. Sherds are illustrated pl. 20: 17-9, 21: 8a. In form it is almost identical with the jugs from the "Copper Age" at Tell el-'Ajûl listed by Petrie as 33 M (TA I, pl. XLIV), except for M 9, which is a cross between this type and the ovoid jars. These jugs, however, are seldom decorated with incised ornament. Moreover, at Tell el-'Ajûl there are a few occurrences of the closely parallel type 69 L and 69 L 2. (TA II, pl. XXXV), in which a narrow neck takes the place of our wide one. Now, the narrow-necked type was common in EB (cf. two vases belonging to Watzinger's *Kanaanitisch*, J, pl. 20, B, 4a-b; cf. also BPM 3, pl. 11: 2-3, 5-6, etc.), though wide necks also occurred, so we may again perhaps see an earlier stage in Tell el-'Ajûl than in our I-II stratum. In the *Spätkanaanitisch* of Jericho we find both forms, but the wide neck predominates (cf. J 108, fig. 93, and pl. 22: 1-2b), and the same incised decoration is found as with us. Here then, is another proof that this stratum at Jericho corresponds closely to our I-II, while the "Copper Age" at Tell el-'Ajûl is earlier.

11. The juglet with pointed base and double loop-handle, 3:13, vertically burnished on a reddish buff slip, seems to belong to our stratum, but an attribution to G would also be possible. It appears to be a forerunner of the

Tell el-Yahûdiyeh vase, and may even be intermediate in type, as well as in date, between the EB III juglet, pl. 1:10, and the former.

12. Additional material bearing on both chronology and provenience of our class of pottery has become available since the preparation of TBM I (1931-2). Petrie has argued from a comparison of carnelian beads from a "Copper Age" tomb with similar Egyptian beads that this age is to be synchronized with the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, particularly the early Sixth, which he dates about 3300 B. C. (our date is cir. 2350-2200);^{*} see TA I, § 14. If the beads were of Asiatic make, as may well be the case, there is no reason to fix their date so precisely as is done by Petrie, since we should then have to reckon with a certain lag. Moreover, the beads in question assume an intermediate position with respect to form between Egyptian beads of the Fifth-Sixth Dynasties and carnelian beads from the jar deposit of Byblos, which dates from \pm 1800 B. C. (see below, § 24), as may be seen by comparing, *e. g.*, Montet, *Byblos*, pl. LXVI, No. 540. Tenuous as the argument is, it still furnishes a slight corroboration of our chronology, according to which G belongs to the 19th-18th century, and I-II consequently falls between the 21st and the 19th centuries.

13. Since Egypt is excluded from the range of possible sources for our pottery, as shown in TBM I, Syria becomes the probable source *a priori*. In TBM I, §§ 13-4, we showed that this view was strongly supported by archaeological evidence. We are now in possession of additional evidence, to which we may briefly refer. In addition to the comparative material from Miṣrifeh (Qatna) and Duḥi, du Mesnil has now published pottery from his soundings at Ḥān Šeikhān, 40 km. north of Ḥamā, and the neighboring Tell 'As (*Syria*, XIII, 171-88). Moreover, the results of Pézard's work at Tell Nebi Mend (Kadesh on the Orontes) have now appeared in book form, with full account of his pottery (*Qadesh*, Paris, 1931). Our tall ovoid jar bears a rather close resemblance in form (aside from the rim?) to one from Duḥi, Tomb 1 (*Syria*, XI, pl. XXXII, col. 5). Other pottery from this same tomb bears a rough general resemblance to some II forms, but the group is oriented toward Mesopotamia rather than toward Palestine. The caliciform vessels have a rudimentary stem, placing them in a general relationship to the chalices of Tell Billah 3 (Speiser, *Museum Journal*, XXIII, 273 ff., pl. LX ff.). The latter date from the 17th-16th centuries, as is shown by comparison of their ornamental repertoire with that of pottery from Syria and Palestine, as well as by the fact that the same type of chalice appears in its later

^{*} For this chronology cf. our observations ANNUAL VI, 72 f. Eduard Meyer's latest reduced chronology would make Dynasty VI last from cir. 2423 to cir. 2280 (cf. his brochure, *Die ältere Chronologie Babylonien, Assyrien und Ägypten*, p. 68).

unpainted form at Nuzi near Kirkûk in a stratum of the 16th-15th century (dated by a mass of cubeiform material).⁸ The same type of calice that is found at Dnebi, but with richer painted decoration, occurs also in abundance at Hân Seihûn, in the lowest level, called "zone A" by du Mesnil. Since this level is followed by thick deposits called, respectively, B and C, and since the C deposit dates, as we shall see, from the 18th century, it is impossible to date "zone A" later than the end of the third millennium, in approximate agreement with du Mesnil's date, "fin du III^e millénaire, commencement du II^e." Still earlier are the tombs of the necropolis at Tell 'Âs and Tomb IV of el-Misrifeh. Both groups exhibit caliceiform vessels with flat base and incised lines (generally straight horizontal lines, sometimes alternating with curved lines). If we add the types found by Petrie at Gaza to our repertoire from strata I-II, we find considerable resemblance to the Syrian groups under discussion, though the latter are unmistakably older (du Mesnil seems to have shifted his chronology downward half a millennium since he assigned the not unreasonable date of 2400 B. C. to Tomb IV at Misrifeh, because he now dates the necropolis of el-'Âs in the first half of the second millennium, which is much too low). In his "Amorite" stratum at Kadesh, Pézard found sherds with the same type of incised decoration in straight and wavy lines and bands, lines of points or strokes, etc., as we have in I-II (*Qadesh*, pp. 64-5, pl. XXXV-VI, *passim*). As we have seen in TBMI, the incised decoration of vases from the 18th century deposit under the Qubbet Lût ("Cupole de Loth") at el-Misrifeh is also identical with ours, though the forms of vases are nearly all later, corresponding roughly to those of our G, as we shall see. Going further east into northeastern Mesopotamia, we find caliceiform vessels somewhat resembling ours, occasionally bearing incised decoration in straight and wavy bands, in Billah I, which apparently belongs to the beginning of the second millennium, and which presumably illustrates a culture which was diffused over all northern Mesopotamia. It is, then, from northern Mesopotamia that we must probably derive the influences which were ultimately responsible for the principal characteristic of the I-II ceramic.

IV. THE POTTERY OF STRATA G AND F (MIDDLE BRONZE II).

14. During the 1932 season we obtained a much clearer picture of the ceramic of stratum G, thanks to our greatly increased area, as well as to the discovery of several houses belonging to this period, only one of which, however, was well preserved. As has been stated above, § 8, we are now convinced

⁸ The evolution from painted to unpainted, from burnished to unburnished, is the usual one, though there may be exceptions, of course.

that the characteristic II ceramic only survived sporadically in the G period, and that a sharp line may, in *general*, be drawn between the pottery of the two successive strata. We must, therefore, modify our chronological classification slightly, and assign G and F to MB II rather than to MB I. In some respects it would be preferable to divide MB into three phases, I (H), II (G-F), III (E-D), but it seems better to avoid making too minute subdivisions of our major periods at this stage of our investigation. It is now possible to distinguish the G ceramic as a separate group at Tell el-'Ajûl, and to point out close analogies in Syria. As will be seen in § 24, the latter are very helpful in dating our pottery to the first half of the eighteenth century, with a probable backward extension into the nineteenth century.

15. The most interesting type of pottery in G is a class of small carinated bowls, illustrated in drawings, pl. 4: 1-12, 14, and photos of sherds, pl. 22: 26-7, 30-32, 36. The distinction between G and F depends entirely, at this stage of our knowledge, on stratigraphic indications, which often fail us in distinguishing such relatively thin deposits as those of G and F. 4: 1 (G-F) is buff, comb-faced, with flat disc-base and grooved rim. 4: 2 (G-F) is buff to reddish buff, otherwise the same. 4: 3 (G) is pinkish buff with brownish red slip, horizontally wheel-burnished, with grooved rim. 4: 4 (G) is horizontally hand-burnished on reddish slip. 4: 5 (G) is reddish buff, irregularly burnished on shoulder, with flat base and grooved rim. 4: 6 (G) is pinkish buff, with vestigial grooved rim. 4: 7 (G-F) has horizontally burnished red slip with knob-handles (cf. TBM I, pl. 6: 44-5, 53). 4: 8 (G-F) also has horizontally burnished red slip. 4: 9 (F?) has a buff to gray surface, horizontally burnished. 4: 10 (G- possibly H) is a brownish buff bowl, with wheel-marked interior (smoked), and does not perhaps belong to our category. 4: 11 (F) is buff, covered with horizontally wheel-burnished red slip. 4: 12 (G-F—E possibly) has a light reddish brown surface, hand-burnished. As proved by the sherds of strata G-F, the great majority of carinated bowls belonging to this period are wheel-made, have reddish slip, highly burnished, and have a flat or disc base and a grooved rim or lip. Pl. 22: 26-7, with parallel strokes of dark-red burnishing on disc-bases, illustrate another common peculiarity, not found in later periods, that of burnishing the disc-bases. Nos. 30-32 come from the upper part of carinated bowls: 30 has red slip on rim and exterior, horizontally burnished on shoulder and vertically below; 31 is the same, but not burnished below shoulder; 32 is reddish buff, with no slip, and with vertical strokes of burnishing. No. 36 ← 31, but has a less distinctly grooved lip. For further illustrations and additional details see TBM I, §§ 20, 23, 27 (the supposed E bowls described in § 27 are probably G-F, since we now have a mass of certain E pottery of this class, none of

which exhibits the grooved rim, though it is true that it nearly all belongs to the end of B).

16. Employing our characteristic carinated bowls of G-F as a clue, let us consider possible occurrences of our G ceramic elsewhere in Palestine and Syria. The closest parallel is found at Tell el-'Ajūl, where the pottery of the "Courtyard Cemetery" (TA II, viii, §§ 9, 58), ascribed by Petrie to the Tenth-Eleventh Dynasty, resembles our G ceramic closely. Most strikingly similar are the five carinated bowls, pl. XXVIII, Nos. 25 E 4, G 5, S, 28 P 3, 5. Though the drawings are sketchy and inadequate, it is clear that these bowls have the same forms, the same type of flat or disc bases, and in at least two cases similar grooved rims. Other parallels will be noted below, and the date of the Courtyard Cemetery will be fixed in § 23. We have not been able to identify our type elsewhere in Palestine, though this is almost certainly due to the inadequacy of the publication of most sites. In Syria a closely related group of carinated bowls seems to occur; cf. especially du Mesnil's sketch of the pottery of Tomb I and the Qubbet Lūt at el-Misrifeh (Qatna), *Syria*, VIII, pl. X, 1, pl. XII, 2; XI, pl. XXXIII, cols. 7-8. The carinated bowls with disc-base are unmistakably similar. The other pottery of these loci also bears a certain resemblance to our G-F types, so that a rough synchronism appears to be established. The chronological meaning of it will be considered below.

17. As has always been recognized, the form of our carinated bowls requires metal prototypes. Good illustrations of these prototypes are found among the ex votos in the foundation jar of Byblos (*Byblos*, jd. LXXI: 605 [silver], 607 [copper]), which dates, as we shall see, from the first half of the 18th century B. C., or a little earlier. In our previous study, TBM I, 15, we maintained that a Mesopotamian origin of the carinated type was likely, though not demonstrable. It is now possible to show that this theory is probable, thanks to Speiser's work at Tell Billah in Assyria proper. In § 13 we have pointed out that certain important characteristics of our H ceramic appear in Billah 4, where they had a good Mesopotamian background, as shown by the work at Assur and elsewhere. Now Billah 4 also exhibits fully developed carinated pottery of our general class: see *Museum Journal*, XXIII, jd. LVI: 1-5, LVIII: 1, 3, 5, LIX: 2-3. It is unquestionably as old or older than our G pottery, and it already exhibits an exceptionally wide repertoire of forms. An older Mesopotamian background is suggested by the carinated bowls of Billah 6 (pl. LI), but since the latter belongs to the beginning of the third millennium or slightly before, no direct connection can be established.

18. Second to the carinated bowls in chronological importance at our present stage of knowledge comes the painted pottery of G-F, represented

pl. 4: 13, 15-6, 22: 1-10, 29. Ever since the beginning of our excavation at Tell Beit Mirsim, we had occasionally found examples of this peculiar painted ware, but until the fourth campaign we remained in doubt as to its precise stratigraphical position. There is no longer the slightest doubt that most of this material belongs to G-F. Aside from the painted pieces 4: 15, 22: 6-7, all of the examples found reflect a strikingly homogeneous technique, the nature of which will appear from our description of the examples. Pl. 4: 13 (= 22: 1-1b) is the upper part of a store-jar, with the characteristic rim of G-F, never found outside of these strata (for sherds cf. 22: 16-7, 20-22); the surface is covered with white lime wash, on which red paint is applied, forming hands with reticulate design between them. Traces of paint remain on the rim. 4: 15 is the upper part of a large bowl, covered with cream slip, horizontally burnished, decorated with red burnished bands. Since it was found 75 cm. below the F tower in SE 14, there can be little doubt of its G date. 4: 16 (= 22: 5) is part of the shoulder and neck of another store-jar, also covered with white lime wash, on which are painted straight lines and hands and wavy lines, in which red alternates regularly with dark blue; all the wavy lines are in blue, while the straight ones are partly blue and partly red. 22: 2 is buff, comb-faced (in the delicate plain style found throughout MB II), with a wide band of white wash on which is painted a reticulate band in red. No. 3 is like 1, to which it may belong; 4 is the same. No. 6 is lustrous (burnished) red on a burnished buff slip, with a reticulate band in red. No. 7 (found under SE 24 F-2, and unquestionably G in date) belongs to an imported vase with globular body, and has finely levigated paste, varying from creamy gray to grayish buff, painted in black (faded in places to bistre and brown) with a reticulate design of quadruple-line bands; its date and provenience will be discussed below, § 25. Nos. 8-10 resemble No. 5, though belonging to different vases. 22: 29 is a sherd from a store-jar, like Nos. 1 and 5, painted with a reticulate band in red on a white wash.

19. The best parallel to the G-F painted ornament comes from Byblos, and is found in the famous foundation jar already mentioned, § 17. For this jar see the photo, *Byblos*, pl. LX, and the excellent drawing published by Dussaud, *Syria*, XI, 170 (the drawing offered by Montet, *Byblos*, p. 112, is very incorrect). The surface of this store-jar is comb-faced in the delicate style of G-F; the painted ornament, in red, consists of straight and wavy lines and reticulate bands in alternation. The Byblos vase dates from the first half of the eighteenth century, or slightly earlier, as we shall see below, from wholly independent considerations, so our synchronism is perfect. Second we must mention the painted jars found by du Mesnil in a tomb in the Butte de l'Église at el-Misrifeh (*Syria*, XI, 158, pl. XXXII, col. 2, Nos. 195-7).

Owing to a fancied analogy with the decoration of Sasa Ia, du Mesnil has dated these jars about 2600 B.C., whereas they should be placed about 1800 B.C., in close relation to the pottery of Tomb 1 and the Qubbet Lât. With forms which point distinctly to the transition from MB I to II, they exhibit a painted decoration consisting of alternating straight and wavy lines and reticulate bands, as at Byblos and Tell Beit Mirsim.

20. The rest of the pottery from stratum G (including F) is rather heterogeneous, so far as form goes. Pl. 4:17 (G-F) is the upper part of a large bowl(?), covered with an irregular white wash, applied horizontally. Pl. 5:1 is part of a large bowl with cylindrical side-spout; the surface is reddish buff, and the rim is curiously folded. 5:2 (G-F) belongs to a vessel with a compressed rim (evidently a vestigial form of the folded rim of 5:3), now covered with alternate bands of red and white wash (probably once white wash covered with alternate bands of red and blue, a technique often illustrated by potsherds from this general period). 5:3 (G) is the top of a similar vessel, pinkish buff in color. 5:4 (G-F) is an unusual cooking pot, reddish buff (smoked) in color, with numerous round holes below the rim, and decorated on the shoulder with horizontal grooves or furrows. 5:5 (F) is an early form of a bowl which became later very common (cf. TBM I, § 35, p. 24); the surface is buff, with centripetal burnishing, and a craneiform design in burnished red slip is applied to the interior, with a band of red around the brim. 5:6 (G) is the lower part of an amphora, with rounded base. 5:7 (G, early phase) is an enigmatic clay object, with one side broken and no aperture in the other; the paste is gritty, and the surface reddish buff to grayish buff. 5:8 (G) belongs to a vessel of nearly globular body; the surface is irregularly comb-faced in horizontal strokes.

21. Turning to the sherds from G represented in pl. 22:11-36, we note the sherds from flat-bottomed cooking pots with holes below the rim, and plastic bands bearing finger-prints, Nos. 11-5. These cooking pots came in during period I, and have been fully discussed TBM I, § 15, etc. During this campaign we secured ample additional evidence for the correctness of our earlier conclusions regarding their date and scope: no modifications seem to be necessary. Nos. 16-7, 20-22 are amphora or store-jar rims: see above, § 18. The narrow ridge, coming to a point below the lip, is most characteristic of G-F, and never seems to occur elsewhere in our site. Nos. 18-9 are typical loop-handles with smooth oval section, showing that the typical forms of MB II were already in use, though still relatively rare; No. 19 is a pitcher handle, with a creamy buff surface, burnished in vertical strokes. No. 23 is a double handle, with creamy buff paste. No. 24 is another double handle, belonging to a piriform or ovoid juglet, with dark red slip and vertical lines of burnish-

ing. The vase may have had a bottom like No. 35, belonging to an elongated vessel with a small flattened base, finished in the same way as No. 24. No. 25 is a triple handle in reddish buff, without slip. Nos. 26-7 have been described in § 15. No. 28 belongs to the inverted rim of a bowl, covered with red slip on the rim and interior, burnished by hand in horizontal strokes on the rim and just inside it, and with centripetal strokes in the interior (for a discussion of this type see TBM I, § 35). This type of bowl became abundant later in MB II. For No. 29 see above, § 18; Nos. 30-32, 36 are described in § 15. No. 34 illustrates a simple type of combed bands which remained very common in G-F.

22. On pl. 21: 30-65 are shown numerous sherds from above the floor of a house belonging to stratum F. Their F origin is thus certain except in cases where the sherds may have come from the interior of falling adobe walls, though this danger has been obviated in this instance by selecting only those sherds which belong to types which constantly recur in floor-levels of stratum F. The detailed descriptions have been mislaid, so we shall limit ourselves to a brief analysis of the types represented. No. 30 is like 22: 11-15. Nos. 31-2, 35, 38-39, 43, 46, 47, 57 belong to carinated bowls, practically always covered with slip (which has sometimes been rubbed off); No. 31, from the outside of the neck of a bowl of this type, shows a continuous W-pattern in burnishing, not infrequently found in G-F. Nos. 33 a-b and 36 belong to MB II cooking pots with everted rims. Nos. 37, 40-41, 44-5 are rims of large amphoras or store-jars; note the typical form of 41 and 45 (cf. 22: 16 ff.). The section of the lip of No. 40, which is quite common in G-F, seems to resemble that of the contemporary foundation jar of Byblos. Nos. 42, 52, 53 belong to large shallow bowls with inverted rim, like 22: 28; the red band on the interior of No. 53 belongs to a bowl with cruciform ornament, like 5: 5, also from stratum F. No. 48 is the top of a typical bottle of MB II, with lip having a round section. Nos. 54-6, 65 illustrate typical comb-faced surfaces of F (also of G), showing the same delicate finish which we later have in strata E-D, and which is also found on the foundation jar of Byblos. Nos. 63-4 exhibit the combed band of this period; cf. 22: 34. Nos. 58-62 are loop-handles; No. 61 already shows the typical MB II thickening of the lower end of the handle; No. 60 is marked with a *tau*, which appears not infrequently on MB II pithos-handles. All handles have a smooth oval section, without ribbing.

23. We are now ready to consider the new light shed by Tell el-'Ajûl, Byblos, and other sites on our chronology. In § 16 we pointed to the parallelism between the pottery of the Courtyard Cemetery at 'Ajûl and our G-F ceramic. In addition to the carinated bowls, some other equally close resem-

blances may be mentioned here. The neck and rim of the large amphora 43 E 4 (TA II) is identical with our typical G-F ones (cf. 4: 13, 21: 41, 45, 22: 16 ff.), and the body and handles are so typically MB II that we may consider the identity of type as absolute. The rim of the large amphora 43 E 5 seems to be the same as our 21: 40. The large shallow bowls with inverted rim, 21 D, P, M 2-3, X 2, correspond perfectly to our G-F bowls, though the type lasted into D. Important for the synchronism with G-F is the fact that all seem to have flat or disc-bases, no concave disc-bases or ring-bases being shown. The elongated ovoid jugs, with a loop-handle and a small flat base, Ajûl 35 R-R 2, also appear at our site; cf. § 21 on 22: 24 and 35. Aside from the fact that the base is flat instead of being button-shaped or in the form of a small disc, this type of jug is virtually identical with vases from the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty at Byblos (two examples, Tomb I, contemporary with Amenemmes III, 1843-1795, *Syria*, 1922, pl. LXIII, LXVI; many examples, Tomb II, a generation later, *Byblos*, pl. CXXV; foundation deposit of cir. 1800 B. C., *Byblos*, pl. XLVII, Nos. 130-132), and at Ugarit (*Syria*, XIII: 5, 7, 12-18 substitutes a small flat bottom, and thus approximates our type even more closely), where they appear in the second stratum, dated by Egyptian monuments and scannings to the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. This type also appears rarely in Palestine; for Jericho cf. J, pl. 22: A, 4 ("Israelite" level). There can be little doubt that both the piriform jugs with button-base and the elongated one-handed jugs with pointed base represent modifications of it—a result which is useful for our relative chronology. From the preceding observations it is evident that neither Petrie's relative date in the Xth-XIII Dyn., nor his absolute date, cir. 2800-2600 B. C., is acceptable. On the other hand, his sequence of cultures at Tell el-Ajûl is correct, since it may be shown with ease that Palace I, assigned by Petrie to the VIIIth Dyn., cir. 3200 B. C., really contains Egyptian pottery of the XIIth-XIIIth Dyn. (!),¹⁰ while

¹⁰How Petrie can have overlooked this is unclear. With TA II, category 4 F, cf. *Qau and Badari III*, 2 H (cf. 9 A); with 31 V 6 cf. 72 B, H, M (and the vases from Palace II, our E, 31 V 7-8); with 10 N 3 cf. 9 A, B (cf. 9 M, etc.), having the same wavy incised decoration. TA II, 9 Q is shaped exactly like Egyptian vessels of the type of the obsidian chalice from Tomb I at Byblos, dating from late Dyn. XII. To Asiatic MB II point the "Anatolian" bowl 19 Q 1 (cf. below, § 60) and the cooking pot 33 B 8, which bears an unmistakable resemblance to the cooking pots of MB II figured below, pl. 13. The pottery strainers 67 Z 3' and 6 bear a general resemblance to strainers of MB II (cf. § 35). A 19th-18th century date seems, therefore, to be established for the First Palace of Petrie. That it is pre-Hyksos may be considered as absolutely certain, but the period of abandonment before the construction of Palace II need not be over a century (say 1775-1700 B. C., to make a guess).

Palace II, instead of belonging to the XIIth Dyn., corresponds perfectly to our E₁. The Courtyard Cemetery then represents the native culture from the time of Palace I, or perhaps immediately after its destruction, and must be dated about the first half of the 18th century.

24. The equally cogent parallel to G-F offered by the foundation jar of Byblos (see above, § 19) provides an opportunity for utilizing the rich material found inside the jar as a check on our chronology. It is true that many of the objects may be considerably older, so that caution must be employed. The collection of scarabs represented *Byblos*, pl. LXV, can, however, be dated with a close approach to precision, thanks to the valuable material secured by Reisner at Uronarti in Nubia, described in the *Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, XXVIII (1930), 47-55, with elaborate illustrations. A collection of 5000 clay jar-sealings, from 500 different seal-patterns, all dating "clearly from Dynasty XIII, and probably from the first half of that dynasty," provides chronological evidence of unequalled value. Most of the scarab-seals are private, and contain every possible variation on the scroll and loop design. The resemblance of the dominant designs to those employed on the scarabs from the Byblos deposit is so great that the latter must also belong to the first half of the XIIIth Dyn., and perhaps also to the end of the XIIth Dyn., i. e., *cir.* 1800-1750 B. C. Montet's date (*Byblos*, p. 127 ff.) about the end of the Sixth Dynasty is much too high, and even Dussaud's date about 2000 (*Syria*, XI, 171 f.) and Vincent's date in the 20th century (RB, 1925, 173 ff.) are too high; in no case can the jar antedate the second half of the nineteenth century.

25. The Ugarit parallels are indirect for the most part, though there is an unmistakable resemblance in several vase types, as we have already observed. It is, moreover, of particular interest to note that the closest single parallel to our imported vase, 22: 7, is perhaps the vase from Ugarit, stratum II, published *Syria*, XIII, pl. XII: 2, exhibiting the same bands of quadruple and quintuple lines in black or brown on a buff surface.¹¹ Stratum II dates, as

¹¹ This pottery is common in the MB of Cyprus; cf. the discussion TBM I, § 39 A (p. 26) on the vases Mayānāl No. 70, etc. For additional parallels, with full discussion of the Cyprian material see Robinson, Harcum, and Hiffe, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, I, 7-8, Nos. 30 (a network of quintuple bands) and 31 (made in Egypt with the wheel). It may be added in this connection that the pottery discussed TBM I, 27 (§ 39 A) has now been found in quantity at Tell el-Ajjal (TA I, pl. XXVIII-XXXIII, II, pl. XXXVIII-XL), though Petrie has not apparently made a comparative study. Its ultimate provenience seems to be from Northern Mesopotamia and Syria; cf. the numerous parallels in motive between Petrie's list, TA II, pl. XLII, and Speiser's table, *Museum Journal*, XXIII, pl. LXIV, especially the eight-spoked ornament. Speiser's

we have noted, from the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasties, so the contemporaneity is assured. In the case of strata G-F, therefore, our former chronology remains unchanged in any respect.

V. THE POTTERY OF STRATUM E (MB II).

26. In the third campaign we found few remains of stratum E, and the absence of houses of this period made it impossible to distinguish clearly between the closely similar ceramic of E and of D (cf. TBM I, § 27). In our fourth campaign we were so fortunate as to discover extensive and well-preserved remains of stratum E, which now is better represented than D. E was an important period, which fell in the early and the middle Hyksos age, between cir. 1750¹² and the latter part of the seventeenth century, whereas D was a shorter period, representing the decline of the Hyksos culture, between the end of the 17th century and the conquest of Palestine by the Egyptians of the XVIIIth Dynasty, cir. 1560-1550 B. C. (for the chronology see TBM I, §§ 46-7). In our previous publication we erroneously reversed the duration of the two periods, owing to the relative inferiority of the E remains found near the D palace. Now we can speak with confidence, since we found at least three, perhaps four successive levels of stratum E, which we must divide into two phases, while D is characterized by only one phase, with two sub-phases in the palace.¹³

27. The pottery of stratum E represents the climax of MB II ceramic. The use of beautiful metallic forms and of rich burnished slip seems to have been most widely diffused about the middle of this period, as indicated by the sherds found in deposits assigned to E₁. The high development of the potter's art corresponds to the probable external situation, since the middle of period E would correspond to the climax of the Hyksos empire, which seems to have

material comes from the 17th-16th century stratum 3 at Tell Bilhah (see § 13, above), and is thus contemporary with ours.

¹² For this date see provisionally TBM I, § 27; we hope to discuss the chronology of the Hyksos period soon elsewhere. Meanwhile, Borchardt's extraordinary discovery of a great genealogical table of Memphite priests (*Sitzber. Berlin Akad.*, 1932, pp. 618-22) has established the essential correctness of the current low chronology (originally set up by him). Between Sesostris III (died cir. 1845) and Amenhotep I (cir. 1575-) there were eleven generations of priests, which would yield the entirely reasonable average of 24.5 years for each generation, several years higher than the average for the entire sixty generations.

¹³ A number of scarabs and a seal-cylinder, all certainly from stratum E, found in the fourth campaign, are published in the *Bulletin*, 47, figs. 3-5 (= *AJA*, 1932, 558-9, figs. 1-3). The most important scarab bears a corrupt inscription of the early Hyksos prince *Y³qb-kr*, and cannot date from before the early 17th century.

fallen in the middle of the 17th century, or a little earlier. All over Palestine and southern Syria we find a homogeneous ceramic culture, illustrated especially by the contents of innumerable tombs of the Hyksos age, belonging to the feudal lords of the country.

28. Store-jars or pithoi of stratum E are represented in section on pl. 6, 7: 1-10, 11: 3-7, and in photo on pl. 19: 5 (= 6: 2), 24: 1-2, 10-13. The store-jars almost always have a very graceful form, tapering symmetrically from the shoulder to a small flat (or very slightly rounded) base. They generally have four handles or none; the handles adapt themselves remarkably well to the shape of the vase, they have a smooth oval section, and almost invariably have a thickening and prolongation of the lower end which gives MB pithos-handles so characteristic an appearance (pl. 6: 1-2, 24: 1-2). The small flat base is characteristic of MB II, and disappears very early in LB. The profile of the rim varies greatly in store-jars of E-D, but we have not been able to note any clear mark of differentiation between the forms of the two periods. Pithos-rims of E vary from such simple forms as 7: 10 to such complex profiles as 11: 3-7, 24: 11-12. Combed decoration seems to be more common than in D, as might be expected; the comb-faced surface occurs frequently (cf. 7: 1, 10, 24: 22), while incised decoration in straight and wavy lines and bands is often found (cf. 7: 3, 10) on the shoulder. A ridge sometimes occurs near the base of the neck, as in the trumpet-footed vases, from which it is evidently imitated. The decoration with a plastic band or band bearing herring-bone imitation of a cord occurs (cf. 24: 22), but is distinctly less frequent than in stratum D. The principal distinction between store-jars of E and of D is that the former tend to be more carefully made, to have more original forms and decoration, and to show more graceful shapes. In practice, we found it comparatively easy to tell them apart, after a little experience.—In addition to the parallels from other excavations which are listed TBM I, § 29, note the store-jars from Tell el-'Ajûl published by Petrie, TA II, pl. XXXI: 43 A 2, A 4', which Petrie assigns to Palaces II and III, both contemporaneous with E, roughly speaking. The store-jar from Palace I, with base and rim missing, cannot be controlled; the context places it in the early 18th century (see above, § 23).

29. Stratum E exhibits an extraordinary variety of carinated bowls and other vessels of the most graceful forms and often of the most exquisite finish. Deposits of sherds belonging to earlier phases of E (called E₁ for convenience) show that this class of pottery had begun to decline by the end of period E, to which most of our vessels naturally belong. The use of burnish was already becoming less common, a process which continued during the following period D, so that we can hardly be surprised to find the practice of burnishing almost

extinct in period C'. Since we have already discussed the origin and provenience of this class of ceramic in dealing with strata G-F' (§§ 15-17: TBM I, §§ 20, 33-4), we will pass on to describe the individual vases on pl. 7-8. Characteristic of the latter part of MB are the carinated vases with trumpet-foot, shown in section pl. 7: 11-5, 17-8, 20-21, 23: 1-5, 8. Most of them are continuously burnished on a rich dark red slip (7: 12-4, 18); the burnishing may be applied horizontally with the wheel in motion (wheel-burnished), or it may be applied by hand, or both processes may be employed successively. The color sometimes appears as orange-brown (7: 17, smoked in places to dark brown), or as buff (7: 11, 20). Cream slip also appears (7: 15 hand-burnished, 7: 21 wheel-burnished). No. 19 (buff, partly smoked) represents perhaps a modification of the same form, in inferior paste and execution. No. 16 (creamy buff surface, horizontally burnished) is very like certain G forms (cf. TBM I, pl. 41: 1, also with burnished cream slip), and the groove on the inner side of the slip is suspicious; on the other hand, the context was E (though not altogether satisfactory) and the outline of the neck and rim resembles that of the class under consideration, so a date in E₁ would be most suitable typologically. The class in question is so well-known that no discussion is needed; cf. now the vases from the Hyksos age of Jericho, JG, pl. XXXIX: 14-5 (cream slip), XI: 48-9 (two with cream slip).

30. On pl. 8 are shown sections of typical carinated bowls of stratum E; for photos of selected examples see pl. 23: 6-7, 9. These bowls vary extraordinarily in details of form and finish; in period D the variation is considerably reduced. 8: 1 is reddish buff, with coarse grits, without slip; a date in D is not excluded by the context. 8: 2 is grayish buff, without slip. 8: 3 is of coarse paste, cream colored, without slip, and with pronounced wheel-marks. 8: 4 is light reddish buff, 8: 5 is reddish buff; neither has a slip. 8: 6 is creamy gray and 8: 7 is creamy buff; neither has a slip. 8: 8 has hand-burnished red slip below and similarly burnished buff surface above. 8: 9 is grayish buff, unburnished. 8: 10 has a buff surface, with horizontal (wheel) burnishing on the shoulder. 8: 11 is grayish buff, unburnished. 8: 12 has a wheel-burnished cream slip. Nos. 13-4 belong to a peculiar type well represented in MB II, as at Shechem (Balāṭah, unpublished), Jericho (JG XXXVI: 1), Tell el-'Ajūl (TA I, pl. XXXIX: 23 W). For a fine example from our stratum D see TBM I, pl. 43: 6. This type has a high trumpet-foot, like the jars described in § 29: our example, No. 13, has a burnished grayish buff surface. No. 14, with reddish buff surface, wheel-burnished inside and outside, may not have had the high foot, but may be parallel to such examples as Tell el-Fārah 23 K 22 (CPI), Bethshehem No. 674 (BSG 129). 8: 15, with a buff, wheel-burnished surface, seems to have

had a low base. 8: 16 does not belong to our class at all, but may be included here for convenience; the clay is brick-red, wheel-burnished outside and perhaps inside, but without slip. The form is characteristic of MB II; cf. the examples figured BPM 3, pl. VI. Sherds from earinated bowls are shown in photo on pl. 24: 14-7. Nos. 14-6 are trumpet-bases belonging to bowls of this class. No. 14 is of brick red clay with a slip of the same color, wheel-burnished on the outside of the body above the base. No. 15 is creamy gray, without a slip and unburnished. No. 16 has a burnished cream slip. No. 17 belongs to the upper part of a reddish buff bowl, wheel-burnished on the shoulder.

31. Sections of jugs of the Tell el-Yahūdiyyeh and related types will be found on pl. 9: 1-6; photographs are given on pl. 23: 13 and 24: 5-6, 9. Pl. 9: 1 is distinct from the others, though it probably shares a common origin with them in the jugs described in § 23, above. It is covered with a rich red slip, vertically burnished in continuous strokes. The pinched lip and form of the mouth belong with the elongated one-handled jugs described § 46, below, but the double handle and (to a certain extent) the shape of the body (the lower part of which is unfortunately missing) belong with the piriform jugs of our class. No. 2 is buff, with a burnished red slip; the roughly flat bottom is very common in this period, differentiating the jugs which have it from other jugs with the same upper part, but with a piriform lower part provided with the characteristic button-base. There seems to be no chronological difference between the two types. No. 3, with a single handle, a piriform body, and a button-base, is covered with a continuously burnished orange-brown slip. No. 4 has the typical Tell el-Yahūdiyyeh technique, a burnished black surface, with bands of punctured ornament, the punctures being filled with chalk, which stands out against the black background. Though this vase has a double handle, it differs from the usual vessel of the type by the rounded shape of the body, which is distinctly not piriform. No. 5 (= 23: 13) is covered with a thick, continuously burnished slip, varying in color from buff to dark gray and brown. The vessel has a flattish base and a double handle, like No. 2, but differs in having a plastic button set at the point where the handle joins the rim; this button is characteristic of the class. No. 6 is covered with a dark red slip, burnished in continuous vertical strokes; the form is characteristic of the piriform jug as a group. 24: 5 is placed so as to show part of the rim, the double handle, and the shoulder of an unburnished buff vase. No. 6, also buff, unburnished, is the double handle of a similar vase, with the button at the rim. No. 9, again buff, is part of a double handle, with the button.

32. The problems connected with the chronology, provenience, and distri-

bution of the types discussed in the preceding section were already treated TBM I, § 39, where the most important literature is cited. The most important new discussion is that of Pézard, *Qadesh*, pp. 70-72, which was written, however, in 1921-2, before the appearance of the works previously cited by the present writer. Pézard drew the erroneous conclusion that the Tell el-Yahūdiyeh pottery was contemporary with the XIIIth-XIIth Dynasties, and passed out of use with the coming of the Hyksos. Our material shows that the pottery in question came into use in G-F, but did not become abundant until stratum E, when it enjoyed its greatest development. In D it became rarer, and showed increasing poverty of form and decoration. Our evidence thus opposes a high date for the introduction of this class of pottery. Since the Egyptian material *proves* only importation before the close of Dyn. XII, we would now alter the date of its appearance in Egypt from before 1900 to before 1800 (contrast TBM I, § 23, end, where I followed Junker too closely). In § 23, above, we have indicated the probable origin of the class.—In the early Hyksos palaces of Tell el-Ajūl, II and III, which are roughly contemporaneous with our E period, there are many examples of our class, listed under 60 and 74 (TA I, pl. LXII; TA II, pl. LV).

33. Pl. 10:1 (= 23:11) and 4 belong to a class of tall vases with wide mouths and bodies which are either roughly cylindrical or which bulge slightly below. The base is generally of the concave disc type. Both of our examples are reddish buff, without slip or burnish. This type seems to occur elsewhere in Palestine, so far as the material is published, only in the Hyksos levels at Tell el-Ajūl: TA I, pl. XLII: 31 gives a painted vessel of this form, V 5, as coming from Palace III ("Dyn. XV"), and two others, V 2, 4, were found in a single tomb of this age; TA II furnishes two other examples, 31 V 7-8, both from Palace II. All five examples have disc-bases, though the degree of concavity is unfortunately not indicated, and all have more or less bulge below and more or less flare at the rim. It is naturally interesting to find them all in the two palace-levels which correspond most closely with our E. At Byblos a very interesting example of our class was found by Montet in Tomb IV (*Byblos*, p. 202, pl. CXVII: s15), which seems to belong to the early XIIth Dyn. (early 18th century). In Tombs II and III (\pm 1800 B. C.) were found many caliciform vases with disc-bases (*Byblos*, pl. CXVI, CXVIII, No. s02), which form perhaps the transition from the caliciform vase of MBI in Syria (cf. our II type) to our class of vessel. CPP (after 101) Petrie compares vase s15 with an Egyptian form of the late XIIIth Dyn. (*Kahun*, pl. XII: 5).

34. We shall consider next the large shallow bowls, generally with inverted rim, which are so characteristic of strata E-D (cf. TBM I, § 35). Examples

are illustrated on pl. 10: 2-3, 5-10; 24: 24, 27, 29-33. 10: 2 has a thickened, slightly inverted and everted rim; it is ring- (i. e., wheel-) burnished on a brownish buff surface inside. 10: 3, with a similar rim, is reddish buff, unburnished. 10: 5 has a typical inverted rim; it is pinkish buff, unburnished. 10: 6, with a rim both inverted and everted and two loop-handles, is made of a coarse, gritty paste, with a reddish buff surface. 10: 7 is like 10: 5. 10: 8 is a bowl of unusual type, since nearly all our bowls have a concave disc-base; it has a reddish buff surface, covered with a red slip, hand-burnished, with strokes running in all directions. 10: 9, with typical inverted rim, is brownish buff, unburnished. 10: 10, also with inverted rim, has a buff surface, originally covered with ring-burnished brownish red slip (now lost except where burnished). Turning to the photographed sherds in pl. 24, No. 24 belongs to a bowl with inverted rim, and with ring-burnished reddish buff surface; form and technique are equally characteristic. No. 27 shows the interior of a bowl with inverted rim; the buff surface is burnished with the wheel (ring style) on and near the rim, while nearer the center it is hand-burnished obliquely to the rim. This technique of burnishing is rare in this period. No. 29 has a reddish buff surface with centripetally burnished red slip; the base is a concave disc. Nos. 30-33 are concave disc-bases of similar bowls; note the smooth finish and the almost complete erasure of the wheel-marks. No. 31 is comb-faced outside.

35. Miscellaneous types of stratum E are illustrated by occasional examples, which we may now describe. Pl. 10: 11 is a pottery cult-stand, of coarse clay, buff in color, with the top missing. These stands seem to have been employed for the support of earthenware bowls in which incense was burned, but stands of the same form served also as holders for sacred plants; for a discussion, with references to the current literature, see TBM I, § 42. 10: 12 is a typical MB II lamp of stratum E; for a discussion of the type cf. TBM I, § 38. 10: 13 is a most unusual type, with both top and bottom unfortunately missing. The vase is covered with a creamy buff slip, baked to a light red on one side; it is horizontally hand-burnished on the sides and vertically hand-burnished below. I know of no parallel in the published material. 11: 8 is a typical cooking pot of the period; for sherds illustrating the forms of the plastic band in E see pl. 24: 18-21, 23, 25. A more pointed rim, contrasting with the flat rim which is nearly always found in period D, occurs commonly in E; cf. the Jericho vase of the same general age, JG, pl. XII: 4. The holes in the outer rim, above the plastic band, which are so characteristic of strata I-F, do not seem to occur after the beginning of period E; they are never found, at all events, in later E or in D; cf. the discussion of these types TBM I, §§ 15, 36. 11: 9 is another unique vase, with an oval horizontal sec-

tion, shown in longest and shortest diameter; the surface is reddish buff to gray, unburnished.—Turning to the remaining sherds on pl. 23.4, we note first the cup-strainers, which are very characteristic of stratum E. 23:14 has a complex triple handle, with a second (false) triple handle under the first. No. 15 has a single handle. No. 16 is the strainer of a third one, the top being broken off. Until the recent excavations at Tell el-'Ajûl and at Jericho, this class of cup-strainer seems to have been unknown. Garstang found a perfect example in Tomb 9 (JG, pl. XXXV: 6), which we would date typologically between 1750 and 1650, because of the obvious connexions with our G-F and contemporary material on the one hand, and with E-D on the other. The scarabs belong in part to XIIIth Dyn. types now so well-known from Reisner's work at Uronarti, and in part to characteristic Hyksos types.¹⁴ Tomb 9 would then correspond chronologically to our E. Garstang's strainer has a disc-base, but the position of the handle is identical with that of No. 15. Petrie has also found several broken cup-strainers, TA I, pl. XLIX: 67 Z 6-7; one of them has a loop-handle (broken off) in the same position as No. 15, and the strainers are all like ours. Two of them are assigned by Petrie to the level which he now refers to Palace III, our E₂, roughly speaking. Pl. 24: 3-4 are loop-handles placed on the shoulder of a large jug, in characteristic MB II fashion. No. 8 is an equally typical double handle in the same position. No. 7, creamy gray in color, belongs to a wide-mouthed pitcher. Nos. 26 and 28 illustrate the rare painted ornament of E. Both belong to large vases with carinated body, perhaps shaped like the class described in § 29, as suggested by the ridge in No. 28, between the neck and shoulder. No. 26 has a creamy gray slip, with red paint, both burnished (the paint is therefore called "lustrous"). No. 28 has red paint on a cream wash (not slip), hand-smoothed. I know of no published parallel, but it is interesting to note that Petrie reports the "waggle" motive (a wavy line between two straight ones) as particularly common in Palace II at Tell el-'Ajûl, and as becoming very rare thereafter (TA II, pl. XLII).

36. On fig. 1 are shown photos of sherds with plastic serpents from MB II, *b* and *c* belonging probably to E. Sherds *b* and *c* (both inadvertently placed upside down) belong to large jugs with a double handle on the shoulder and a coiled serpent decoration beginning below the spring of the handle and running up the cleft of the handle. Sherd *b* still represents a clear serpent, while *c* (which may belong to stratum D) shows a highly conventionalized double coiled serpent motive. Sherd *a* resembles the serpent sherd described

¹⁴ The scarabs from Tomb 9 are published JG, pl. XXXVII and pp. 47 ff. Newberry's relatively low dates are evidently due in part to lack of acquaintance with the Uronarti material.

TBM I, § 37 in its typically pitted body. In addition to the references given in our previous study, note the double handles with serpents from Tell el-'Ajûl (TA I, pl. XXXV: 112-3).



Fig. 1. Sherds of MB II with Serpent Ornament.



Fig. 2. Alabastra from E.

37. Six alabastra from stratum E (all from rooms of level E) are illustrated in section on pl. 9: 7-12 and in photo on fig. 2. Three of them (Nos.

7-9) have an oval (elliptic) horizontal section on the outside, the inside section being naturally round. This elliptic section is extremely common in alabastra from Egypt and Palestine, belonging to this age. Owing to lack of space, we have not considered it advisable to make an exhaustive comparative study of the alabastra, which were made in Egypt and imported into Palestine (cf. TBM I, § 40). The closest parallels come now from Tell el-Ajûl. No. 8 resembles TAI, pl. XXV: 24. No. 9 is something like TAI, pl. XXIV a, which is a little larger, and TAI, pl. XXIII: 42 also resembles it. No. 10 resembles TAI, pl. XXV: 25-6, and No. 11 is like TAI, pl. XXIII: 43 (cf. TAI, pl. XXV: 27, 38). With Nos. 7 and 12 compare the Egyptian example, *Sedment I*, pl. XLI: 29. G III, pl. XLII: 7 is like No. 9, though a little larger.

38. On pl. 11: 1-2 are represented two faience lentoid flasks, both found in rooms of stratum E, so that there can be no question about their date. Both have been subjected to a conflagration which has changed their color, originally greenish blue, with decoration probably in black or bistre. I must confess my inability to find any parallel in published material of the Middle Empire or Hyksos date. These pieces may become extremely interesting for chronological purposes, since their date cannot be far from the third quarter of the 17th century.

VI. THE POTTERY OF STRATUM D (MB II).

39. The chronology of stratum D has already been considered in TBM I, §§ 45-7, and above, § 26 and note 12. There can be little doubt that this stratum represents the period from somewhere in the latter part of the 17th century to about the middle of the 16th century. The scarabs found this season in stratum D will be discussed elsewhere; they add nothing of importance to the evidence already presented in TBM I.¹⁵ For the problem of the duration of MB II, and the date of the transition to LBI see below, § 50. It will not be necessary to go into much comparative detail, since period D was adequately covered by the material excavated in the second and third campaigns, published in TBM I.

40. Pl. 12: 1-7 illustrate carinated bowls with low base, either of the disc or of the ring type. As stated above, §§ 29-30, there is a perceptible decline in the use of burnished slip on vases of this class; the beauty of the finish is at its height in G-F and E₁, becomes less in E₂ (E), and is greatly reduced

¹⁵ For photographs of these scarabs see *Bulletin*, No. 47, fig. 9 (= *AJA*, 1932, 561, fig. 7). They are in part almost identical with scarabs previously found in D, and are very characteristic of the developed Hyksos style of the late 17th and early 16th century. For a discussion of the class cf. TBM I, § 45.

in D. Of our bowls, only No. 6 shows traces of original burnishing; its form and creamy buff surface show that it belongs with the imported vase published TBM I, pl. 43: 6, found in the D palace. No. 1 is buff, No. 2 is reddish buff, No. 3 has a hand-smoothed cream slip, No. 4 is creamy buff, No. 5 is brownish buff, and No. 7 is like No. 5. The forms of bowls from stratum D are distinctly less varied and less elegant than those of E, as will be seen by comparing the plates of this pottery in TBM I and here. Pl. 12: 9-11 are carinated vases with trumpet-foot, like those of E treated above, § 29. No. 9 is identical in type with pl. 7: 11 ff.; it has a light reddish brown slip, wheel-burnished. No. 10, which may possibly belong to C₁, so far as stratification is concerned, has a squat trumpet-foot; it is covered with a vertically burnished cream slip. No. 11, which is a late, inelegant form of 9, has a red slip, wheel-burnished on the shoulder and hand-burnished below, *i. e.*, vertically below and horizontally above.—No. 8, which may be included here for convenience, is like 8: 16 (E), but the proportions are much less elegant; the color is buff. It has a very close resemblance to the similar pedestal bowls from Beth-shan, figured BPM 3, pl. VI.

41. In pl. 12: 12-18, 13: 1-2, we figure large bowls, generally shallow and with inverted rims; cf. the discussion of D bowls of this class previously found, TBM I, § 35, and of E bowls from this campaign, above, § 34. 12: 12 is reddish buff, with concave disc-base. 12: 13 is buff, with comb-faced exterior; there is a ring-base. 12: 14 is buff, with concave disc-base. 12: 15 is reddish buff, of gritty clay, very strongly wheel-marked in the interior; the rim is grooved. 12: 16, with everted rim, is grayish buff and is smooth inside but wheel-marked on the outside. 12: 17 is creamy gray, with slightly everted rim. 12: 18 has two handles, and is buff in color. Pl. 13: 1 is creamy gray, with concentric bands of red in the interior. 13: 2 is brownish buff, smoked; it has four curious ledge-handles, formed by bending conical rolls of clay into a spiral.

42. The cooking pots of stratum D belong to two classes, coarse hand-made pots with flat bottom and plastic band below the rim (13: 3-6; cf. TBM I, § 36, and above, § 35), and finer, wheel-made pots with rounded bottom (13: 7-11; cf. TBM I, § 55, on pl. 21: 52, which may now be assigned to D with confidence). The first class is by far the more numerous in D, before which period the second class seems, indeed, to be rare at our site. At Tell el-'Ajāl it appears earlier (TA I, pl. XL: 28 M-N; cf. pl. LXII). It is not necessary to say anything further about the first class. The second, however, is particularly interesting since it undoubtedly represents the prototype of the familiar cooking pots of C and B, with profiled and collared rims. This is evident in the shape of the body, with a sharp bend below the rim, above

which the latter flares outward, and in the triangular projection of the rim in such examples as Nos. 7 and 11. It is interesting to note that the triangular section of the rim becomes regular in southern Palestine during C_1 , and is not replaced by more complex and varied profiles until C_2 (or perhaps about the second half of C_1). Cooking pot rims with the latter type of section are very common, *e. g.*, on the surface of the mound of Ai (et-Tell near Bethel), which was destroyed, according to Israelite tradition, immediately after Jericho. This fact agrees remarkably well with Garstang's apparent demonstration that the fall of Jericho must be dated ± 1400 B. C., *i. e.*, at the end of C_1 or the beginning of C_2 .

43. The large pots figured pl. 14: 2-3 resemble the second class of cooking pot in the shape of their rim, but they differ in texture and color, the texture being less gritty and the color plain buff in our case. No. 2, with a concave disc-base and with two loop-handles, is unique, so far as I know. No. 3, which stands on three loops, has parallels in Tomb 9 at Jericho (JG, pl. XXXIII: 5-8, 7 being a close parallel, except in the rim) and elsewhere (*e. g.*, Beth-shan, PEFQS, 1932, 146).

44. On pl. 14: 4-14 are shown complete and broken store-jars (pithoi) and water-jars (amphoras). Nos. 4-6, 9-14 are store-jars, like those of D already published, TBM I, § 28. In height they range from 70 to 90 cm. In type they are almost indistinguishable from jars of E, having the same general shape, the same flat or slightly convex base, the same alternation between plain and elaborately profiled rims, and between four handles and none (with some exceptions). There is, however, a difference in the paste which became evident to the eye after prolonged experience during our fourth campaign, and a less elusive difference in form, the E jars tending to curve outward more gracefully between shoulder and base, while D jars show a marked inclination to flatten the curve, so that the line between shoulder and base becomes straighter. By accident, none of this group of store-jars is comb-faced, though numerous sherds of similar jars with this decoration were found, as before. For a comparative discussion see TBM I, § 28, and also above, § 28. The water-jars, pl. 14, 7-8, have the same general shape, but are smaller; whether they are amphoras or have no handles is unclear.

45. On pl. 15: 1-6 we have vases more or less related to the Tell el-Yahūdīyeh type (see above, §§ 31-2). In period D this type becomes rarer than in E (taking the frequency of sherds also into consideration), and both form and decoration are very inferior. The true Tell el-Yahūdīyeh group, with piriform body, button-base, double handle, white punctured decoration on black burnished surface, seems to have become extinct, or nearly so. No. 1 is dark gray; the surface is badly worn. No. 2 is black, burnished in vertical

strokes. No. 3 is burnished buff, with a vestigial double handle (the division is indicated only by a line incised lengthwise of the handle). No. 4, black burnished, has lost the button-base, replaced by a slight projection). No. 5 is black, with worn surface. No. 6 is burnished buff, with a double handle.

46. On pl. 15:7-11 are represented a group of elongated, pointed, one-handled jugs, of a very common type (see for stratum D the discussion TBM I, § 32). Originally the type in question had a small flat base instead of a sharp point, as has been noted above, § 23, in discussing a class of vases illustrated by examples from Tell el-'Ajûl, Jericho, Byblos, and Ugarit. In Tomb 9 of Jericho some vases otherwise of our type still exhibit small flat bases, a fact which is of chronological importance in dating this group (cf. JG, pl. XXXII: 1, and compare with 2-4 and pl. XXXV: 9-12). 15:7 is buff, burnished with vertical strokes. 15:8 is light buff to dark gray, burnished; the handle is set on skew. 15:9 is buff, unburnished. 15:10 is reddish buff, unburnished; the attribution to D is not stratigraphically certain. 15:11 is reddish buff, unburnished. The relative frequency of our type in D is most curious when we note its apparent total absence in E, a situation reflected by sherds as well as by complete vessels. We cannot use this negative evidence as a chronological indication, since it may be explained in various ways.

47. On pl. 15:12-14 are shown three one-handled jugs. No. 12 has a double handle on the shoulder, as usual in MB II; cf. TBM I, § 31. Nos. 13-14 are wide-mouthed jugs or pitchers, of a characteristic MB II form, which invariably exhibits a pinched lip; cf. the example TBM I, pl. 42:10. Close parallels are now available at Tell el-'Ajûl; see TA I, pl. XLV: 36 G, etc. All three are plain buff, unburnished.

48. Lamps of stratum D resemble those of E (see above, § 35, on 10:12, and for our previous discussion cf. TBM I, § 38). On pl. 15:18-20 and fig. 3: a-c, f, four examples are reproduced. This is the typical lamp of MB II, which is so common that no further discussion is necessary.

49. Lastly, we shall describe the alabastra and a faience vase from stratum D. The former are shown in section on pl. 15:15-17. 15:15 is in two pieces, the upper one of which is shown also in horizontal section; their function is not clear. 15:16 belongs to a very common type, already found in stratum D (TBM I, pl. 43:2). In addition to previous comparisons, note TA I, pl. XXV: 17, II, pl. XXII: 7-8 (which have a flat bottom). 15:17 is intermediate in form and height between the two alabastra of E, pl. 9:9 and 11; cf. TA I, pl. XXV: 27-8. The faience vase, pl. 14:1, somewhat resembles another from D published TBM I, pl. 44:15, so far as we can tell, the design being almost obliterated. In addition to the parallels from Palestine and

Egypt cited TBM I, § 41, note one from Tomb 22 at Jericho, dating from the 17th century, JG, pl. XL1: 4, which resembles the first one from D more in form, as well as two more from Tell el-Fâr'ah (TF II, pl. XLIII: 17, pl. XLIV: 45). Both in form and in decoration our new example is very much like one from Tell el-Fâr'ah, TA I, pl. VI: 15. All the examples from Tell el-Fâr'ah come from tombs of the Hyksos age. For form and decoration cf. also the small vessel from the contemporary level at Beth-shan, X A (PEFQS, 1932, pl. III: 8).

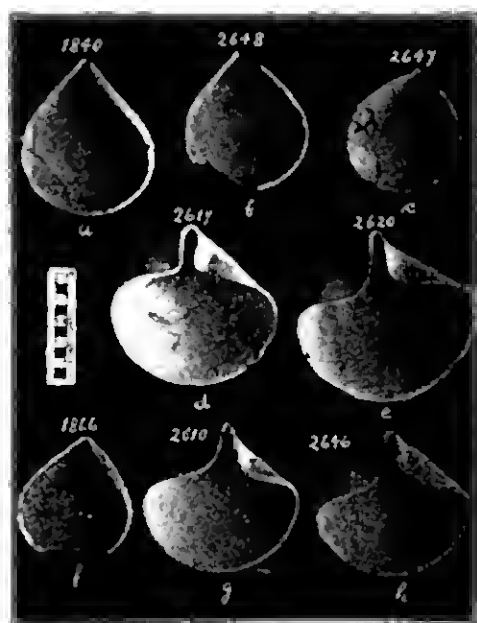


Fig. 3. Lamps of D (a, b, c, f) and C (e, g, h). No. d is C or B.

VII. THE POTTERY OF STRATUM C (LATE BRONZE I-II).

50. Since the appearance of TBM I, new evidence for the date of the transition from MB II to LB has come from Jericho, Tell el-Ajûl, and Beth-shan. When all this material is fully published, we shall be able to fix the date as exactly as can be expected in ceramic chronology. So far nothing seems to have been found to disprove the conclusions of the writer, TBM I, §§ 46-8, that the transition fell between 1550 and 1480, except that the latter date may have to be reduced to 1450. Gurstang's relevant data from Jericho

have not yet been published except in the form of preliminary descriptions of his results, without detail. The writer has been able to examine some of his material, and has heard from him and others about the results of the fourth (1933) campaign. Without entering into detail, it may be said that his excavations in the cemetery of the Bronze Age have yielded extremely important sequences, dated by scarabs bearing Egyptian royal names. In his third campaign he found scarabs of the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (cir. 1490-85) and of Amenophis III (cir. 1415-1380) in Tombs 5 (fourth layer) and 4, respectively (PEFQS, 1932, 152; JG 36). The pottery found associated with the former reign appears to be still partly MB II in type, but LB material is said to become abundant about this time. In his fourth campaign Garstang discovered extensive remains of a characteristically LB occupation in the city itself, running parallel with the latest deposits in the necropolis. His conclusion that Jericho was destroyed about 1400 B. C., or a few years later, thus seems to be established. At Tell el-'Ajûl Petrie found a sherd bearing the cartouches of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (cir. 1490-85) in the palace area, between Palace IV and Palace V (TA II, § 4, pl. VIII: 117, pl. LV). Immediately below we have MB II pottery; directly above, LB ceramic is recorded. To judge from Petrie's levels, however (pl. XLIX), the sherd belongs to the lower level rather than to the upper, since the nearest walls of IV rise to levels 1090 and 1110, whereas the sherd is marked 1089, so Petrie's correlation of it with Palace V seems very doubtful. It may well be that the sherd belongs to the first occupation after the fall of IV, but precedes the construction of V. If Palace IV, which corresponds to our D, was destroyed by Amosis about 1560 B. C., as is likely *a priori*, this view would be very reasonable. At Beth-shan Fitzgerald has found a considerable filling below the foundations of the Makal Temple of stratum IX, containing quantities of characteristic LB sherds, which included a large proportion of painted fragments, some belonging to imported white slip ware (Cyprian milk-bowls); see PEFQS, 1932, 146. If we were absolutely clear about the attribution of the Makal Temple to the reign of Tuthmosis III (cir. 1483-51), the character of the filling would force us back to the late sixteenth century for the end of MB II at Beth-shan; unfortunately this is not the case, and the discovery of Mycenaean pottery in this stratum (cf. TBM I, § 60) is probably to be taken as evidence of a lower date, in the second half of the fifteenth century. The Beth-shan evidence favors an early date for the end of MB—before the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century at the latest, in agreement with the evidence from Tell el-'Ajûl and apparently also with that from Jericho. In future we should perhaps substitute 1500 for 1600 as the conventional date of the transition from MB to LB.

51. In our fourth campaign we were disappointed in our hope of obtaining clear evidence for the ceramic peculiarities of stratum C₁. The burned levels separating lower C from upper C were, in fact, found to be so irregular, in spite of their thickness in places, that we may have to reckon with several phases of partial destruction and reoccupation. Nor could a sufficient number of clear criteria for a distinction between the pottery of C₁ and C₂ be found to warrant an addition to what has already been said, TBM I, ch. IV, *passim*. Our previous observations with regard to the relative absence of Mycenaean sherds in C₁ were amply confirmed; cf. below, § 61. No Mycenaean sherds could be attributed to C₁ with confidence, though nearly all the other C pottery found this season undoubtedly belongs to this phase. The destruction which preceded the last phase of C may, therefore, be safely attributed to the first half of the fourteenth century (cf. TBM I, § 49).

52. The bowls shown pl. 16: 1, 4-5, 7-9, 11-2 are of the same type as those described TBM I, §§ 50-51, to which we may refer for a comparative discussion. All are of various shades of buff unless otherwise indicated. No. 4 is very carelessly made, of gritty paste. Nos. 7-8, 11 have coarse wheel-marks on exterior and base. The remaining bowls may be described in more detail. No. 2 is made of a gritty paste; the ring-base is centripetally bevelled, following a very common LB technique (cf. TBM I, §§ 50, 59). No. 3 is creamy gray, of gritty paste, with pronounced wheel-marks. This bowl is a direct offspring of the carinated bowl of MB II; its attribution to C₁ is fixed equally well by stratification and by typology. No. 6 also belongs to C₁, being found under the C room SE 23 sub C-9; it is reddish buff, with a slip of the same color, unburnished, with wheel-marks. The typology agrees with the stratification. No. 10, with an inverted rim, has a creamy gray slip. No. 13 belongs either to D or to C₁ (more probable). No. 14, of a gritty paste, represents a very common type of high bowl with two handles and inverted rim (described TBM I, § 54); from it is descended the EII type described TBM I, § 92. Cf. the examples published by Grant, BSG II, pl. XXX: 35-8, all from stratum IV. No. 15 belongs in the same category, but both handles are missing; in form of body and rim it resembles Grant's No. 38 quite closely. No. 16 is made of fairly fine paste, but is very poorly baked; note the plastic ring around the body. The form is apparently unique, though a distant family relationship with the pots BSG, pl. XLII: 19, XLVI: 13-14, and XLIX: 22 is unmistakable; all the latter date from between 1400 and 1200.

53. The lower parts of two store-jars are figured on pl. 17: 1, 3. Characteristic of LB store-jars and water-jars is the knobbed base, which lasts for centuries, passing out of use late in period B. Cf. BSG II, pl. NLI: 17, 21, 23, etc., all from LB, and the Tell el-Fûrah vases shown CPP 43 II 1, etc.

The knobbed base may go back to a base of the type shown BSF, pl. XLII: 13, dating from the end of the fifteenth century (pre-Amenophis III level), itself derived from the small flat MB II base.

54. On pl. 17: 2, 4-8 are shown a number of typical cooking pots of stratum C, all but one with typically collared or projecting rims; see TBM I, § 55 for a full discussion, with references. The exception, No. 2, belongs to the MB II class described above, § 42, end. Stratigraphically it seems to belong to C₁, but a D provenience is possible.—17: 9 is a large, shallow bowl, which rather resembles 16: 6 in shape; it is not a cooking pot.

55. On pl. 18: 1-4 are illustrated a number of jugs and related vases of various types. No. 1 is grayish buff without burnish; it had no handles. No. 2, with a buff surface, resembles the small jugs from the 13th-12th century level at Beth-shan, BSF, pl. XLVIII: 17-20, which are of about the same height. No. 3 is reddish buff, with traces of cream slip; it is like the pitcher BSF, pl. XLVI: 20, from the 13th century level, in shape, but with a squatter body. No. 4 belongs to the class of amphorisci which survived into EI II, discussed TBM I, § 108. Our example is probably without a button-base, and so not in the direct line of ascent, which goes back to the LB types illustrated CPP 55 W 4-7. It has nearly the same shape and the same height as the late 14th century example figured BSF, pl. XLV: 3, though it is more coarsely made than the latter. Even closer is the resemblance to the larger amphoriscus figured BSG II, pl. XL: 10, also from LB (cf. p. 31, *ad* 1733).

56. Several typical lamps of C are represented pl. 18: 7-9, with photos fig. 3: *e*, *g-h* (*e* = No. 9, *g* = No. 7, *h* = No. 8). For a discussion of the type and of its evolution from MB and into EI I see TBM I, §§ 38, 59, 93, esp. 59. Fig. 3: *d* dates from either B or C, probably from the former; it is creamy buff, decorated with a band of brownish red on the rim (otherwise unique, so far as we know).

57. The native painted pottery of stratum C is illustrated on pl. 18, Nos. 10-12, and 26: 10-33, 27: 1-45. 18: 10 is part of a one-handled, wide-mouthed jug, like TBM I, pl. 47: 15, also of C; the surface is creamy buff, with design in dull brick-red. 18: 11 belongs to the class of lentoid flask discussed TBM I, § 57; it is reddish buff, continuously hand-burnished, decorated with concentric rings, white between red in each group of rings. The decoration is somewhat similar to that on the LB(?) flask BSG II, pl. XLII: 5. 18: 12 (= 26: 10) comes from the upper part of a bowl of the crater type. On a buff surface with horizontally hand-burnished cream slip is applied reddish brown paint, faded to light brown; the ibex-palm motive is very common in LB. Pl. 26: 11 (red on creamy gray, burnished slip). 12 (reddish brown on buff surface), 13 (ditto) exhibit variations of the same theme. Nos. 14-6,

all reddish brown on buff, come from the walls of large jugs. No. 17 is the upper part of a deep bowl with straight sides and pointed rim, reddish brown on buff. No. 18, also reddish brown on grayish buff, belongs to a large jug with sharp carination below the painted ornament. No. 19 is similar, but from a much smaller vessel. No. 20 is reddish brown on buff. No. 21 belongs to the wall of a very large jug, 17 mm. thick, of coarse ware: the color is as before. No. 22 is reddish brown on buff, burnished with irregular vertical strokes. No. 23 is dark red on reddish buff, hand-smoothed. No. 24, with a pattern of alternating straight and zigzag lines, is reddish brown on buff. No. 25 belongs to a coarse jug with carinated body: the shoulder is decorated with metopes in dark red paint, with faded wavy lines in the compartments. No. 26 is also carinated, with ornament of the same color. No. 27, from the neck and shoulder of a jug, has red on buff design. No. 28 has a creamy gray slip, with decoration in light red. No. 29 has the same slip, on which are reddish (faded) wavy lines between straight black ones. No. 30, from the upper part of a bowl, has a creamy buff surface, on which are wavy red lines between black (faded) bands. No. 31 is the rim of a bowl with straight vertical sides: the decorative scheme consists of alternating straight and wavy lines, set in groups obliquely to the rim, and of the same color as before. No. 32 is dark reddish brown on buff. No. 33 belongs to the top of a wide-mouthed pitcher, with buff surface, horizontally burnished on the rim, with painted red band below and vertical strokes of burnishing below that. A date in period B is possible.

58. Continuing our catalogue of painted sherds from C, let us turn to pl. 27. No. 1 belongs to a shallow bowl, with groups of concentric reddish brown rings on a buff surface. Nos. 2 and 3 belong to the same class, with black between red on buff, and brown on grayish buff, respectively. No. 4 comes from a bowl with inverted rim, decorated with reddish brown on buff: the wavy lines may possibly symbolize water. No. 5 belongs to the same type as 4; the decoration consists of concentric red rings on a buff surface, as before. No. 6 comes from the inside of a shallow bowl, with pronounced wheel-marks, decorated with a dark red cross, unburnished, on buff surface. No. 7, also from the inside of a bowl, is decorated with groups of straight and wavy lines in red, arranged in cruciform fashion on buff surface. No. 8 belongs to a lentoid flask with concentric rings in reddish brown on a burnished cream slip (cf. TBM I, pl. 14: 1-2). No. 9 is the same, except that the rings are of faded red and black, in alternation. No. 10 is a tilted horizontal loop-handle, decorated with red and black bands of paint on a light buff surface, all unburnished; this type imitates Mycenaean ware. No. 11 is a handle, decorated with red paint on cream, unburnished. No. 12 is buff, decorated

with red lines. No. 13 comes from the outside of a thick-walled, shallow bowl, decorated with grayish white and red concentric lines and bands, with wavy lines. Nos. 14-6 are characteristic loop-handles of LB, with a red spoke-design on a buff surface; cf. TBM I, pl. 19: 1-3, etc. No. 17 has a grayish cream slip, hand-smoothed, on a reddish surface; the handle is decorated with black bands. No. 18 comes from the top of a white-slip bowl with tilted horizontal loop-handle; the decoration is in brown. Nos. 19-22 are sherds from the tops of similar bowls: 19 has red lines on buff with band of paint inside rim; 20 is the same, but with wider band inside rim; 21 is bistre (faded black) on grayish buff; and 22 has a network design above horizontal lines, red on buff. Nos. 23-31 are all sherds from large vases, decorated with painted bands. No. 23, a jug with flaring mouth, has reddish brown paint on hand-smoothed grayish buff surface. No. 24 has black bands between red ones on brownish buff surface. No. 25, a jug with a flaring mouth, has light red on buff. No. 26 has reddish brown on buff. No. 27, from the shoulder of a large jar with flaring mouth, has alternating red and white bands. No. 29 has reddish brown on buff, with a white band above. No. 30 has a white band between reddish brown ones. No. 31 has faded reddish brown on buff. No. 32 offers a simple geometrical design of the band and metope variety, reddish brown on dark gray. Nos. 33, 34 a-c, 44-5 are sherds which probably all belong to the same vase, a large jug with reddish-to-grayish buff surface, decorated with vertical streamer ornament, each streamer consisting of a black wavy line between reddish brown (nearly purple) straight ones. No. 34 is reddish brown on buff. No. 35 comes from the outside of a bowl with hand-smoothed interior surface; the decoration consists of purple vertical lines on a burnished buff slip. No. 36 shows a metopic design on the shoulder of a jug; between the compartments are groups of alternating straight and wavy lines in reddish brown on reddish buff surface. No. 37 belongs to the rim of a bowl with flat lip and straight sides, slightly bulging below; the decoration is black (faded to bistre) on buff. No. 38 belongs to a jug with red lines on buff. No. 39 belongs to a small amphora with typical knob-base of LB; it is decorated with purple bands on a creamy gray slip. No. 40 belongs to the lower part of a jug with ring-base, decorated with intersecting groups of parallel lines in red on hand-smoothed buff surface. No. 41 comes from the wall of a similar vase. No. 42 has dark red paint on a grayish buff surface. No. 43 is the shoulder and rim of a earinated jug, like No. 36; the decoration is reddish brown (nearly purple) on creamy gray. We refrain from entering into comparative details, since the pottery of C has already been described rather fully, and it is identical in the main with LB from other parts of Palestine. No other ceramic period in Palestine is so well known as this one, and the only serious chrono-

logical difficulty is the exact date of its beginning and end (see above, § 50, and below, § 63).

59. The imported wares of period C will now be considered. First in importance comes the so-called base-ring class, consisting of vases with hard metallic paste and forms imitating metal work. For a comparative discussion see TBM I, § 63 and the references given there. Two reconstructed vases are shown on pl. 18: 5-6 (← 25: 86 and 25: 41, respectively). Pl. 25: 45-50 belong to the upper parts of small skew jugs. Nos. 51-61, etc. come from the upper parts of large oenochoes. No. 60 shows a rare decoration on the shoulder, rhomboids of network. Nos. 62-6 are handles of similar oenochoes. Nos. 79-82 are trumpet- or ring-bases of oenochoes; Nos. 71, 83-5 are bases of small skew jugs. Nos. 87-8 are sides and rims of bowls like No. 86; Nos. 89-93 are handles of similar bowls (89-90, 92 are wishbone handles, 93 is a tilted horizontal loop-handle with nearly the same section, and 91 is a prong-handle). Sherd No. 78 is decorated with a plastic band, on which is a row of oblique notches; I know of no parallel.

60. On pl. 25: 1-43 and 26: 1-9 are shown numerous fragments of white-slip ware. All our examples, without exception, belong to wishbone-handled bowls; in color they are either cream, creamy gray, or bluish, the proportion of the last color seeming to increase as we go downward stratigraphically (*i. e.*, backward chronologically). The two principal types of decoration are well illustrated by 26: 2 (with double horizontal band and links) and 26: 1 (single band without links). Both types may appear on the same vase, as in 26: 2, 25: 11. As was observed TBM I, § 64, it is not possible at present to distinguish any regular chronological sequence of decorative types within LB. However, Petrie's recent work at Tell el-'Ajûl has brought extremely important new data for the chronology of the first appearance of this pottery on the coast of southern Palestine, as well as for its oldest decorative typology; see TA I, pl. XXXIV; II, pl. XXXVII. What Petrie calls "Anatolian" ware is really an older phase of "Cypriote" from MB: the latter replaced the former at Tell el-'Ajûl in Palace III, which corresponds roughly to our E₂. It follows, accordingly, that the "Cypriote" type of bowl came into use at Tell el-'Ajûl before the base-ring ware, if we are to accept Petrie's data TA II, pl. LV; the latter first appears in Palace IV, contemporaneously with its appearance in stratum D. Actually, however, one may doubt the completeness of his records in this respect, and suspect that the two types came into use at Tell el-'Ajûl more or less simultaneously in period III, which corresponds to our E₂, whereas they appeared in the hill-country somewhat later, during the early part of our period D. Typologically, it is now quite certain that the links are a debased form of the bands of lozenges which are so characteristic of the painted white-slip ware of Cyprus in MB.

61. Very few Mycenaean sherds were found during this campaign, none of them in a clear C, stratum. The reason for their paucity is precisely that we dug comparatively little in the upper levels of C. Fig. 4 illustrates the few sherds of this category which we found. Nos. *a-b*, *e* belong to a single *Bügelkanne*, decorated with the usual bands and lines, very much faded. Nos. *c* and *g* are vase-rims, *c* belonging to a flaring rim; both are bistre on cream. No. *d*, from the wall of a vase, is red on cream; No. *f* is part of a base, also red on cream. For a comparative discussion cf. TBM I, §§ 61-2.

62. Only one piece of faience of sufficiently clear character to merit reproduction was found during the fourth campaign; it is figured pl. 18:13. It must be said, however, that a D provenience is also possible, and is, indeed, supported by external analogy. The surface was originally greenish blue, now

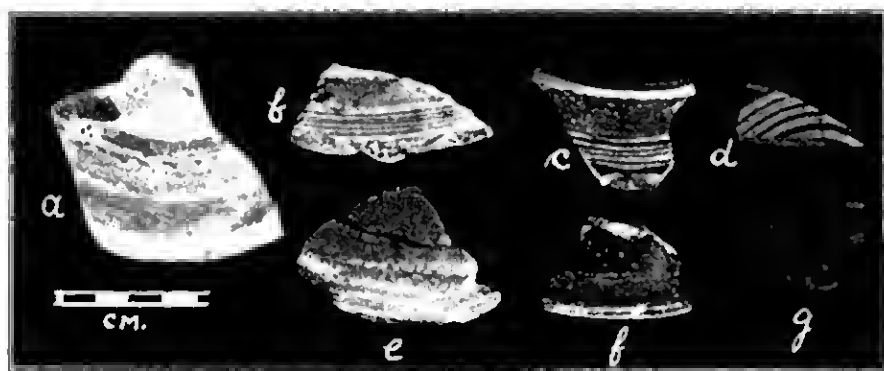


Fig. 4. Mycenaean Sherds from C.

faded almost to white. The painted ornament was reddish brown or perhaps originally black, while the dots were gilt. The closest parallel available seems to be the sherd from Palace III (older "level II"), TAI, pl. XXXII: 55, which seems to exhibit identically the same pattern as the outside of our piece. However, the sherd from 'Ajûl belongs to a unique class of ceramic, hitherto known only, it would appear, from 'Ajûl, and described by Petrie (p. 10 a) as having the "body quite white, the colouring chocolate," and as being "the finest ancient fabric known." The description sounds rather like a foreign imitation of Egyptian faience.

63. No new evidence bearing on the date of the close of period C was discovered during our fourth campaign. At Tell el-Fâr'ah, however, Starkey has secured extremely valuable evidence bearing on the chronology of the Philistine period of occupation and influence, our phase B₂. As will be

recalled, we employ the date of the commencement of the period of Philistine influence as an important argument in fixing the end of C in the second half of the 13th century (TBM I, § 71). We have discussed Starkey's new material in the *Bulletin*, 48 (Dec., 1932), 17, to which we may refer. It may be added here that the pre-Philistine cemetery, No. 900, which Petrie and Starkey bring down to the reign of Ramesses VIII, actually cannot be traced to a reign later than Ramesses IV: the scarab shown TFF 11, pl. LVII: 375, with a very badly worn surface (cf. the photo, pl. LVI, center row, second from right) can hardly belong to the ephemeral Ramesses VIII, but is probably to be attributed to Ramesses III or IV, as will be seen on comparing the photo and drawing with the material published by Petrie, Hall, and Gauthier, bearing in mind that the lower part of the scarab is illegible. We are not, therefore, justified in going below cir. 1150 (my chronology) or 1170-60 (current chronology) for the latest dated object in the pre-Philistine cemetery. This agrees absolutely with our conclusions, TBM I, §§ 72-3. —Petrie and Starkey date the end of the Philistine period conjecturally about the middle of the eleventh century, whereas we date it about 1000, a date which is historically more reasonable.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

TABLE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERIODS

INDEX to the Pottery on the Plates

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
ANNUAL	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</i>
BM	Bliss and Macalister, <i>Excavations in Palestine.</i>
BPM	<i>Bulletin of the Palestine Museum.</i>
BSF	Beth-shan Publication: FitzGerald, <i>The Pottery.</i>
BSG	Grant, <i>Beth-sheanesh</i> , Haverford, 1929.
BSG I, II	Grant, <i>Ain Shems Excavations</i> , Parts I, II, Haverford, 1931-2.
<i>Bulletin</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</i>
CPP	Duncan and Petrie, <i>Corpus of Palestinian Pottery.</i>
G	Macalister, <i>Gezer.</i>
J	Sellin and Watzinger, <i>Jericho.</i>
JG	Garstang, <i>Jericho: City and Necropolis</i> (Liverpool <i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> , Vol. XIX, pp. 3-22, 35-54, and pl. I-XXIII, XXVI-XLV).
JPOS	<i>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.</i>
PEFQS	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique.</i>
TA I, II	Tell el-'Ajûl—Petrie, <i>Ancient Gaza</i> I, II.
TBM I	<i>Tell Beit Mirsim I</i> (ANNUAL, Vol. XII).
TF I, II	Tell el-Fârah—Petrie, Starkey, etc., <i>Beth-prlet</i> I, II.
THB	Bliss, <i>A Mound of Many Cities.</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.</i>

TABLE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERIODS

STRATUM	PERIOD	DATE	CONTEMPORARY PERIODS ELSEWHERE
J	EB III	cir. 23rd-21st centuries	{ Jericho: <i>Kanaanitisch</i> , City B, Tomb A. End of Old Empire in Egypt.
I	MB I }	cir. 21st-19th centuries	{ Jericho: <i>Spätkanaanitisch</i> . Tell el-'Ajûl: "Copper Age."
H			
G	"	19th-18th cent.	{ Tell el-'Ajûl: Palace I, Courtyard Cemetery.
F	"	18th "	{ Byblos: Foundation Jar.
E ₁	MB II	18th-17th "	{ Tell el-'Ajûl: Palaces II-III. Hyksos Age.
E ₂	"	17th "	{ Jericho: <i>Israelitisch</i> (City C), Tomb 9.
D	"	17th-16th "	{ Tell el-'Ajûl: Palace IV. Hyksos Age ends. Jericho: City C, end.
C ₁	LB I-II	15th-14th "	Jericho: City D.
C ₂	LB II	14th-13th "	Late Dyn. XVIII-Dyn. XIX.

INDEX OF THE POTTERY IN THE PLATES

The bold-faced numbers refer to the plates in which the pottery in question is illustrated. The serial numbers (SN) of the pottery objects are given, in order to facilitate later reference to the lists of provenience which will appear in Vol. II of the Tell Beit Mirsim publication. Pieces without serial numbers will be identified there by reference to our plates.

- Pl. 1: 1-6 (§ 2), 7-10 (§ 5). — SN: 2 = 2502, 4 = 2559, 8 = 2637, 10 = 2622.
- 2: 1-0 (§ 7). — SN: 1 = 2232, 5 = 2324, 7 = 2558.
- 3: 1-3, 5, 8-9 (§ 8), 4, 6-7, 11-2, 14-5 (§ 9), 10 (§ 10), 13 (§ 11). — SN: 1 = 2567, 5 = 2566, 6 = 2457, 10 = 2183, 13 = 2570, 15 = 2628.
- 4: 1-12, 14 (§ 15), 13, 15-6 (§ 18), 17 (§ 20). — SN: 2 = 2569, 5 = 2613, 10 = 2565, 12 = 2606, 13 = 2633, 14 = 2262, 16 = 2634.
- 5: 1-8 (§ 20). — SN: 4 = 2561, 7 = 2602.
- 6: 1-6 (§ 28). — SN: 1 = 2398, 2 = 2371.
- 7: 1-10 (§ 28), 11-9 (§ 29). — SN: 1 = 2323, 11 = 2272, 12 = 1956, 13 = 1962, 14 = 1963, 19 = 2264.
- 8: 1-16 (§ 30). — SN: 1 = 2489, 2 = 2463, 3 = 2329, 4 = 2092, 5 = 25607, 7 = 2322, 9 = 1955, 11 = 1957, 12 = 2462, 13 = 2007, 14 = 2563, 15 = 2425, 16 = 2564.
- 9: 1-6 (§ 31), 7-12 (§ 37). — SN: 1 = 2012, 2 = 2399, 3 = 2611, 4 = 2630, 5 = 1914, 6 = 2631, 7 = 1951, 8 = 1849, 9 = 1964, 10 = 1850, 11 = 1851, 12 = 1983.
- 10: 1, 4 (§ 33), 2-3, 5-10 (§ 34), 11-13 (§ 35). — SN: 1 = 1953, 2 = 2429, 4 = 2085, 6 = 2401, 8 = 2480, 9 = 1863, 11 = 2617, 12 = 1866, 13 = 2321.
- 11: 1-2 (§ 38), 3-7 (§ 281, 8-9 (§ 35). — SN: 1 = 1990, 2 = 2404, 9 = 2455.
- 12: 1-11 (§ 40), 12-8 (§ 41). — SN: 2 = 2459, 3 = 1833, 4 = 2397, 5 = 1838, 7 = 2423, 8 = 2421, 9 = 1827, 10 = 2369, 11 = 2326, 12 = 2424, 13 = 2226, 14 = 1784, 15 = 2325, 16 = 2336.
- 13: 1-2 (§ 41), 3-11 (§ 42). — SN: 1 = 2428, 2 = 2571, 3 = 1960, 4 = 2009, 5 = 1864, 6 = 2513, 8 = 1961.
- 14: 1 (§ 49), 2-3 (§ 43), 4-14 (§ 44). — SN: 1 = 2164, 2 = 2227, 3 = 2145, 10 = 2458, 13 = 2013, 14 = 1905.
- 15: 1-6 (§ 45), 7-11 (§ 46), 12-4 (§ 47), 15-7 (§ 49), 18-20 (§ 48). — SN: 1 = 2087, 2 = 1777, 3 = 1802, 4 = 2632, 5 = 2579, 6 = 2152, 7 = 2151, 9 = 2370, 10 = 2380, 11 = 2585, 12 = 2023, 14 = 2180, 15 = 2181, 16 = 1816, 17 = 2179, 18 = 2647, 19 = 2648, 20 = 1810.
- 16: 1-16 (§ 52). — SN: 3 = 2328, 4 = 1738, 6 = 2575, 7 = 1767, 8 = 2242, 9 = 2081, 10 = 2142, 11 = 1782, 12 = 1870, 13 = 2377, 14 = 1855, 15 = 1802, 16 = 2339.
- 17: 1, 3 (§ 53), 2, 4-9 (§ 54).
- 18: 1-4 (§ 55), 5-6 (§ 59), 7-9 (§ 56), 10-12 (§ 57), 13 (§ 62). — SN: 1 = 2021, 2 = 2020, 3 = 2091, 4 = 2083, 5 = 2378, 6 = 2504, 7 = 2010, 8 = 2646, 9 = 2620, 12 = 1727, 13 = 2605.

- 18: 1 = 1: 4, 2 = 2: 1, 3 = 2: 4, 4 = 2: 3, 5 = 8: 2.
- 20: 1-10 (§§ 7-10), 20-46 (§§ 2-4).—SN: 25 = 2549.
- 21: 1-29 (§§ 7-10), 30-65 (§ 22).
- 22: 1-10 (§ 18), 7 (§ 25), 11-36 (§§ 15, 18, 21).—SN: 1 = 2033 (4: 13), 5 = 2034 (4: 16).
- 23: 1-5, 8 (§ 29—No. 5 also § 40), 6-7, 9-10 (§ 30), 11 (§ 33), 12 (§ 35), 13 (§ 31), 14-6 (§ 35).—SN: 1 = 2015, 2 = 1003 (7: 14), 3 = 1062 (7: 13), 4 = 1827 (12: 6), 5 = 1950 (7: 12), 6 = 1957 (8: 11), 7 = 2320 (8: 3), 8 = 2272 (7: 11), 9 = 1955 (8: 9), 10 = 1838 (12: 5), 11 = 1653 (10: 1), 12 = 2009 (13: 4), 13 = 1614 (8: 5), 14 = 2607, 15 = 2606, 16 = 2608.
- 24: 1-33 (§§ 28, 30, 31, 34-5).
- 25: 1-43 (§ 60), 44-63 (§ 59).—SN: 44 = 2564 (18: 6), 86 = 2378 (18: 5).
- 26: 1-6 (§ 60), 10-33 (§ 57).—SN: 1 = 2652, 2 = 2314, 6 = 2651.
- 27: 1-45 (§ 58).

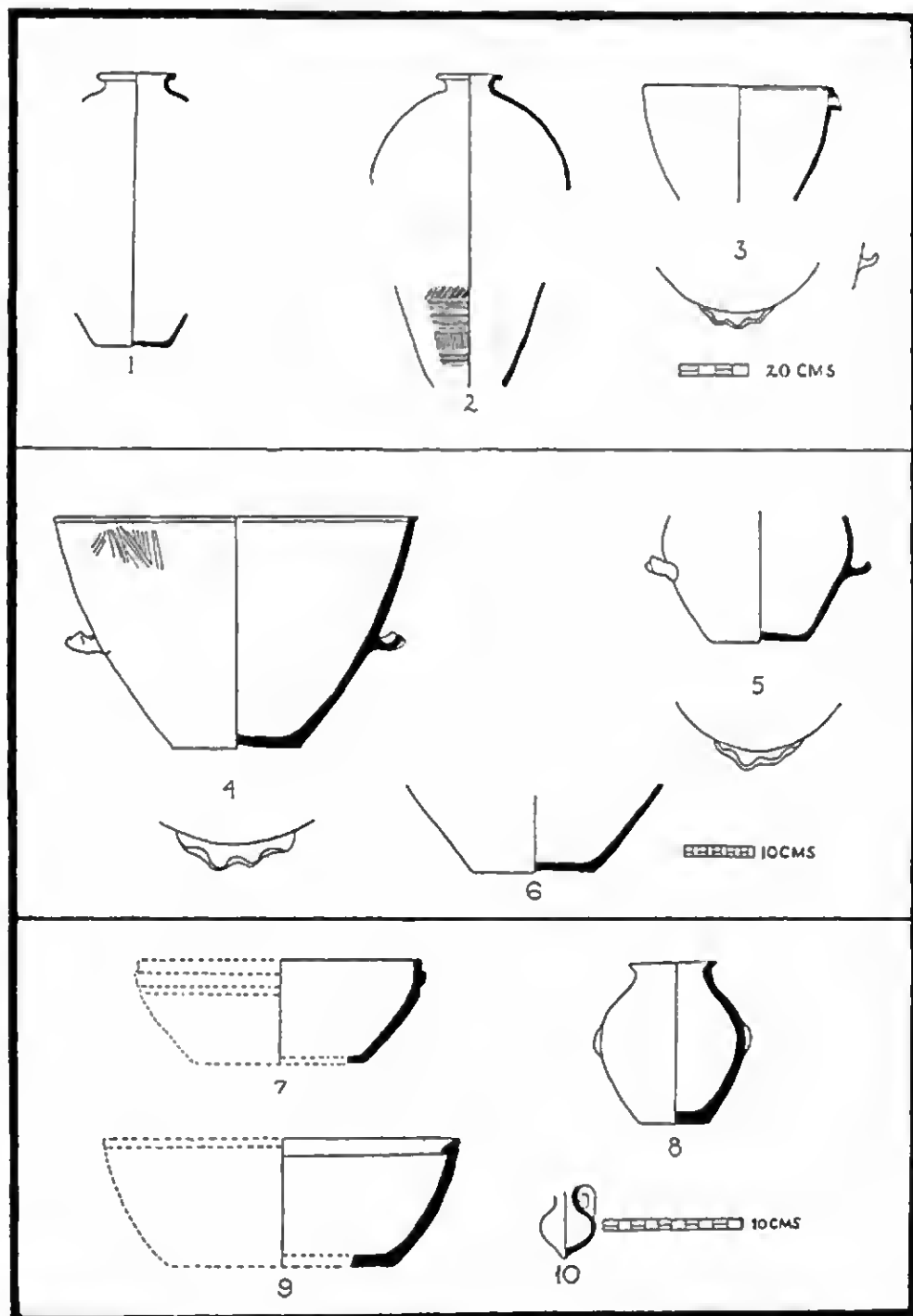


PLATE 1 (J)

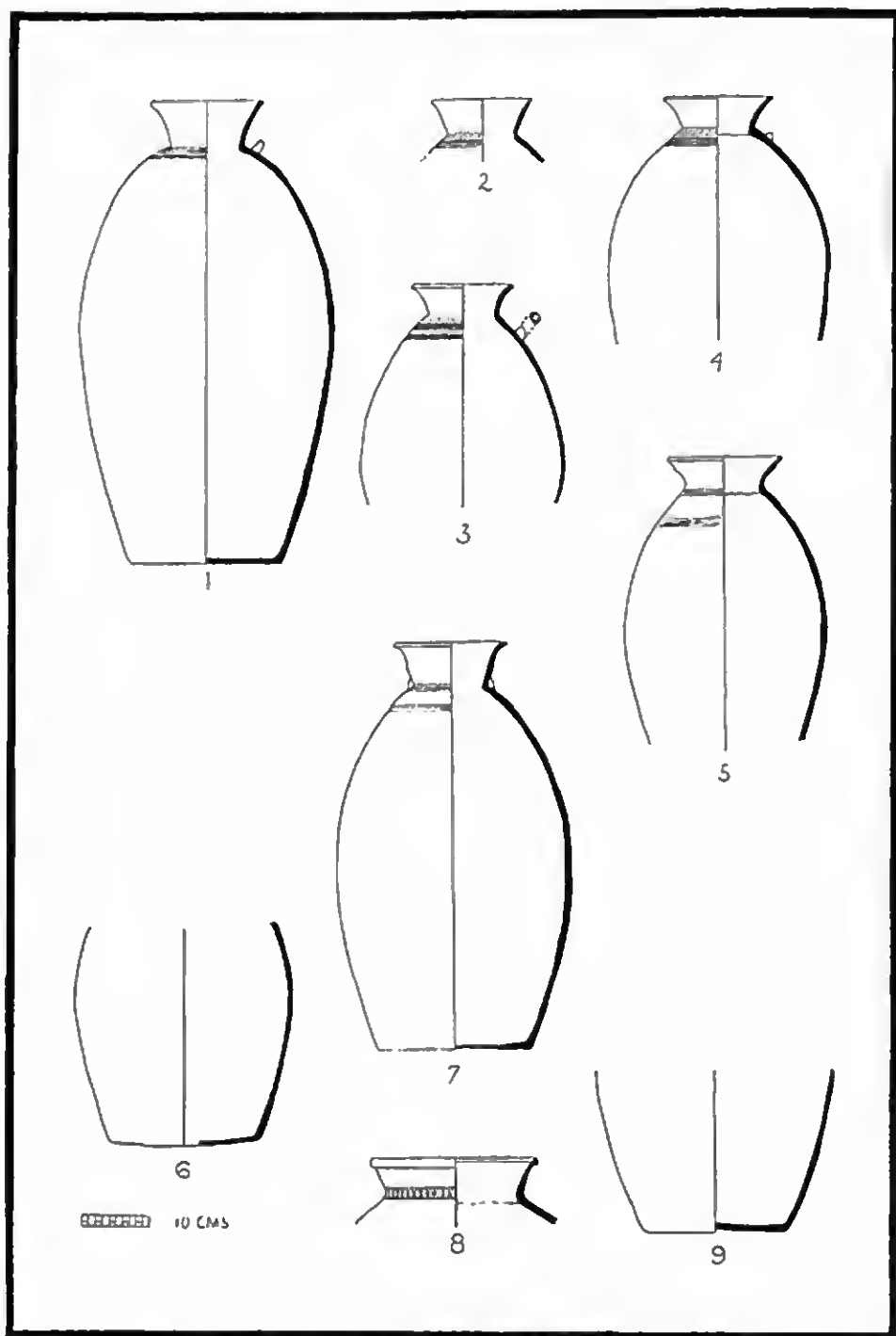


PLATE 2 (H)

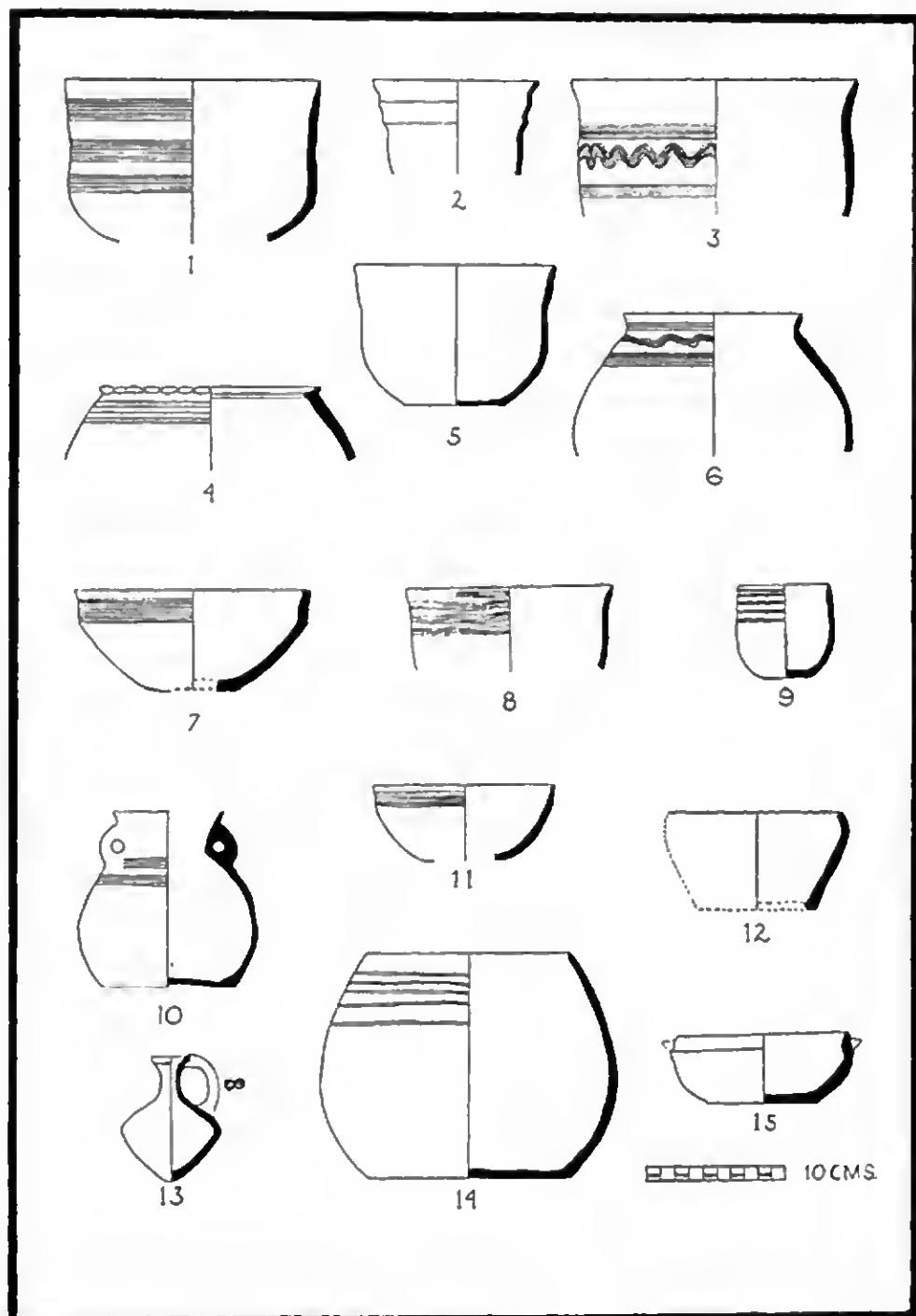


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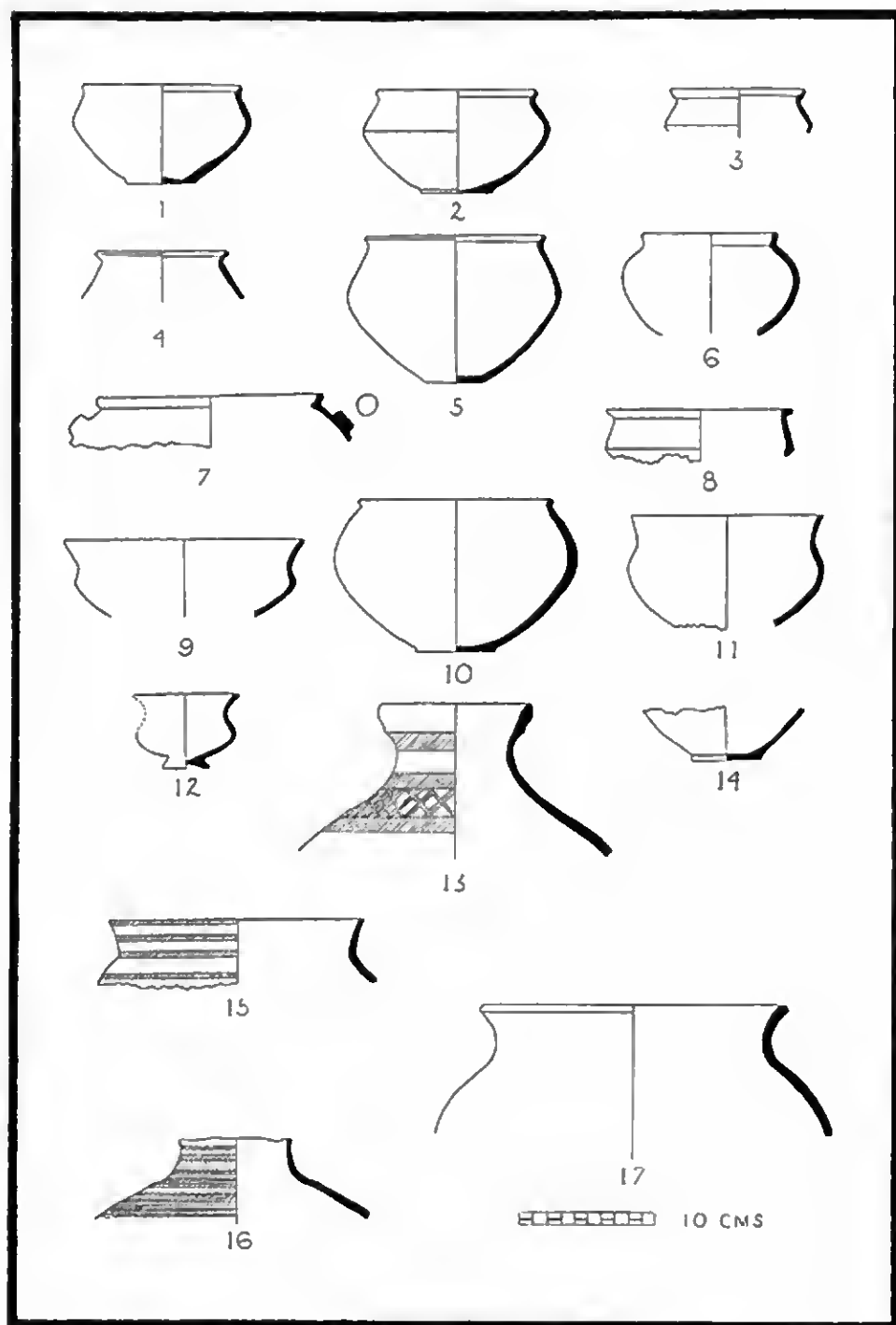


PLATE 4 (G-F)

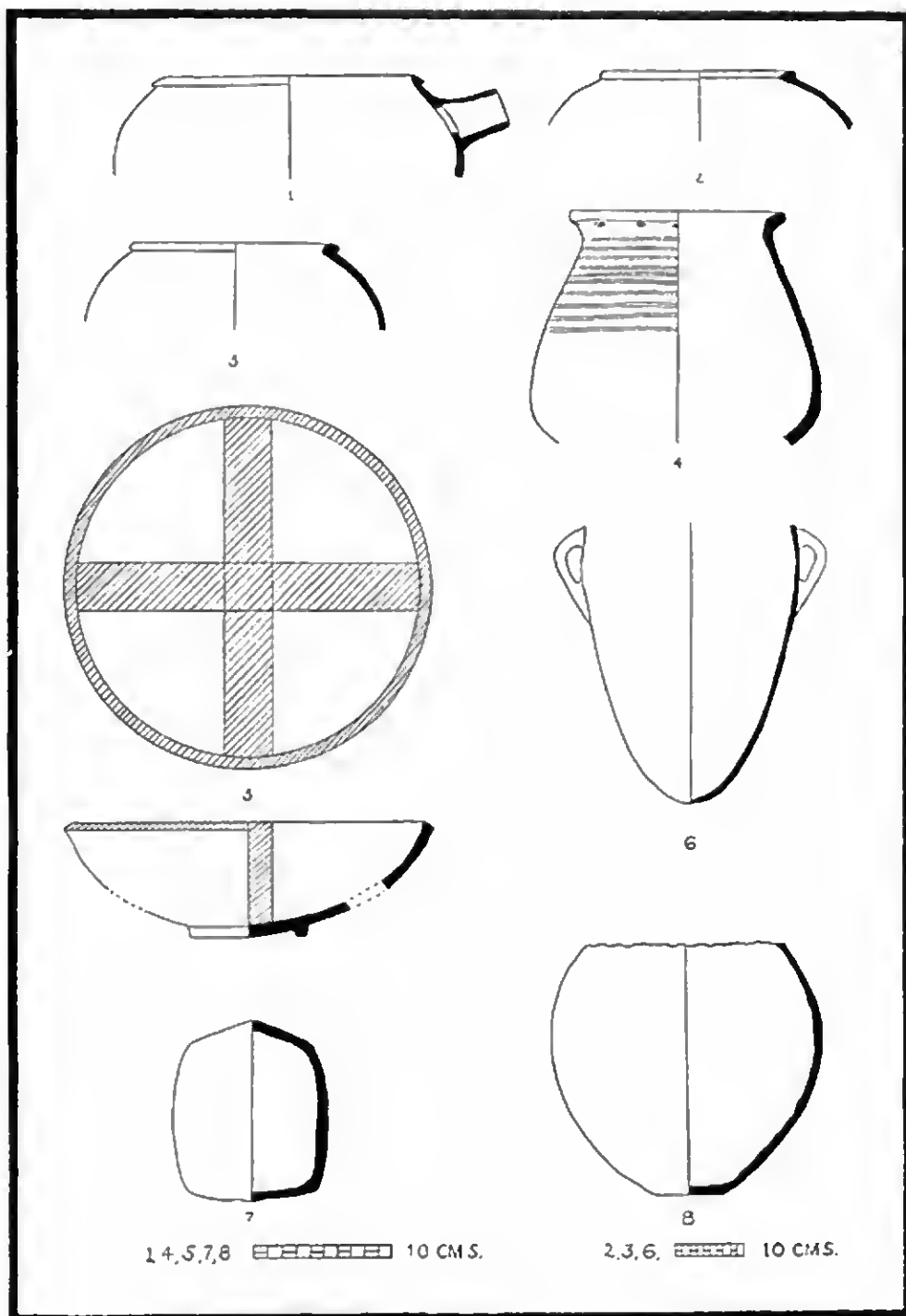


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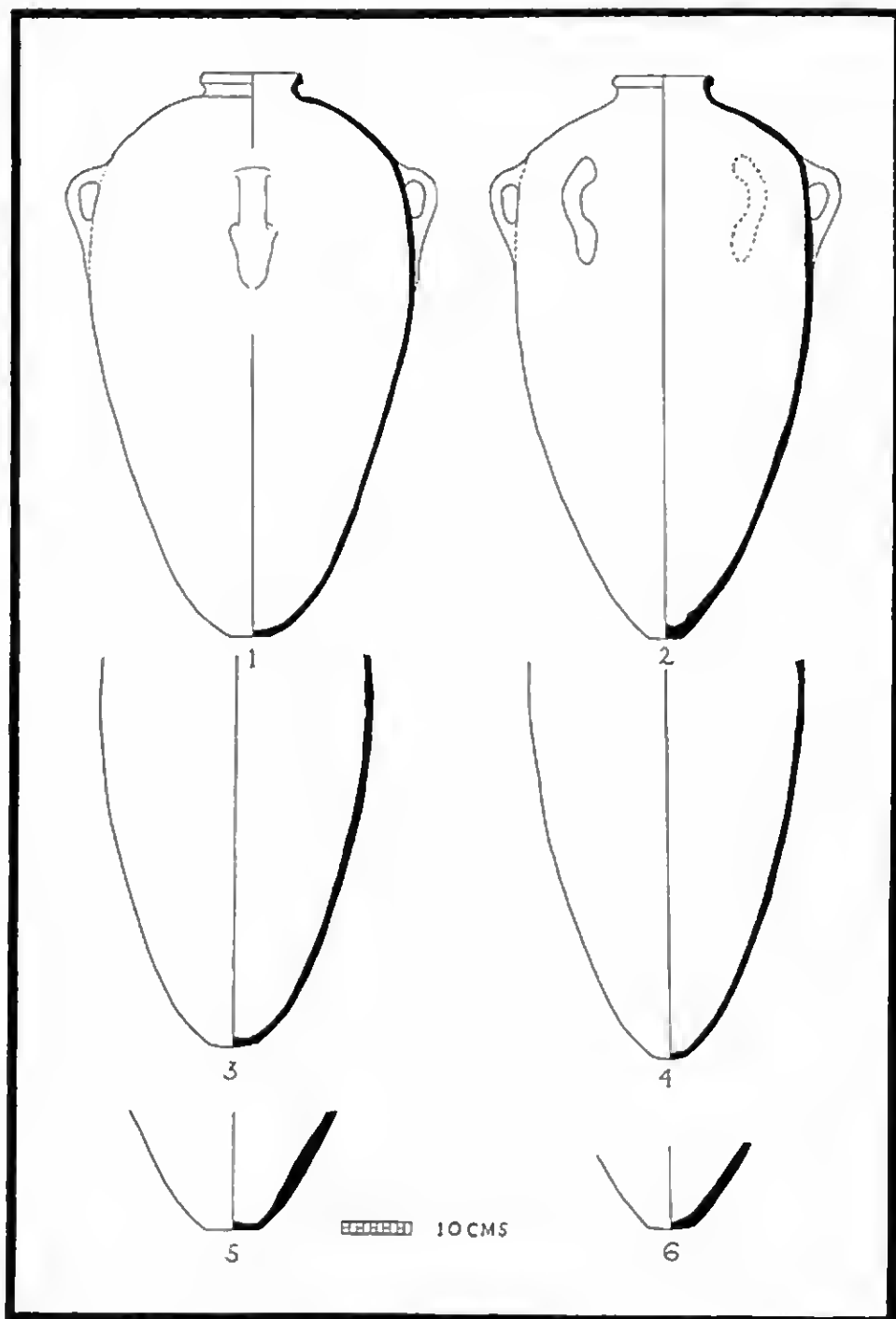


PLATE 6 (E)

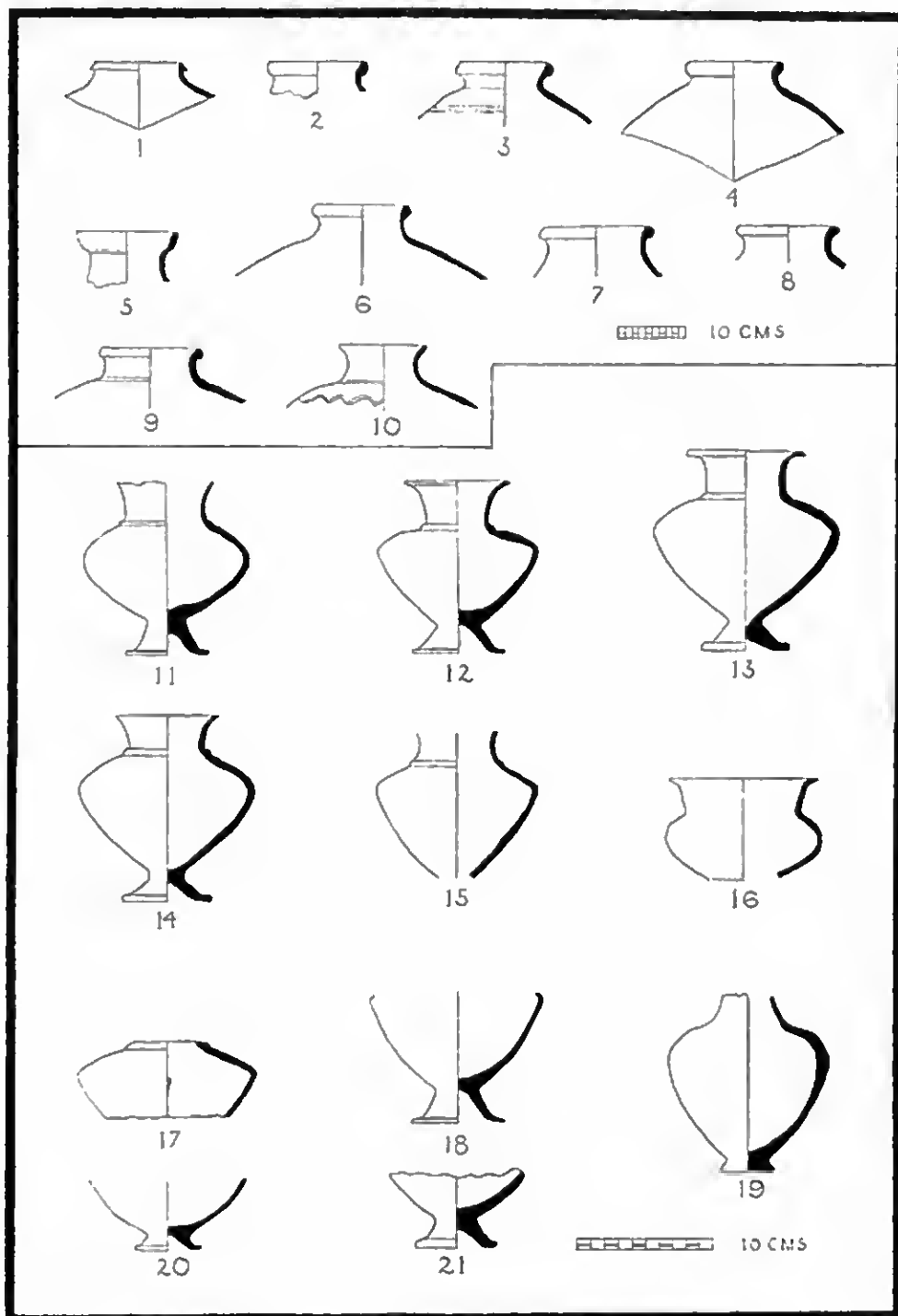


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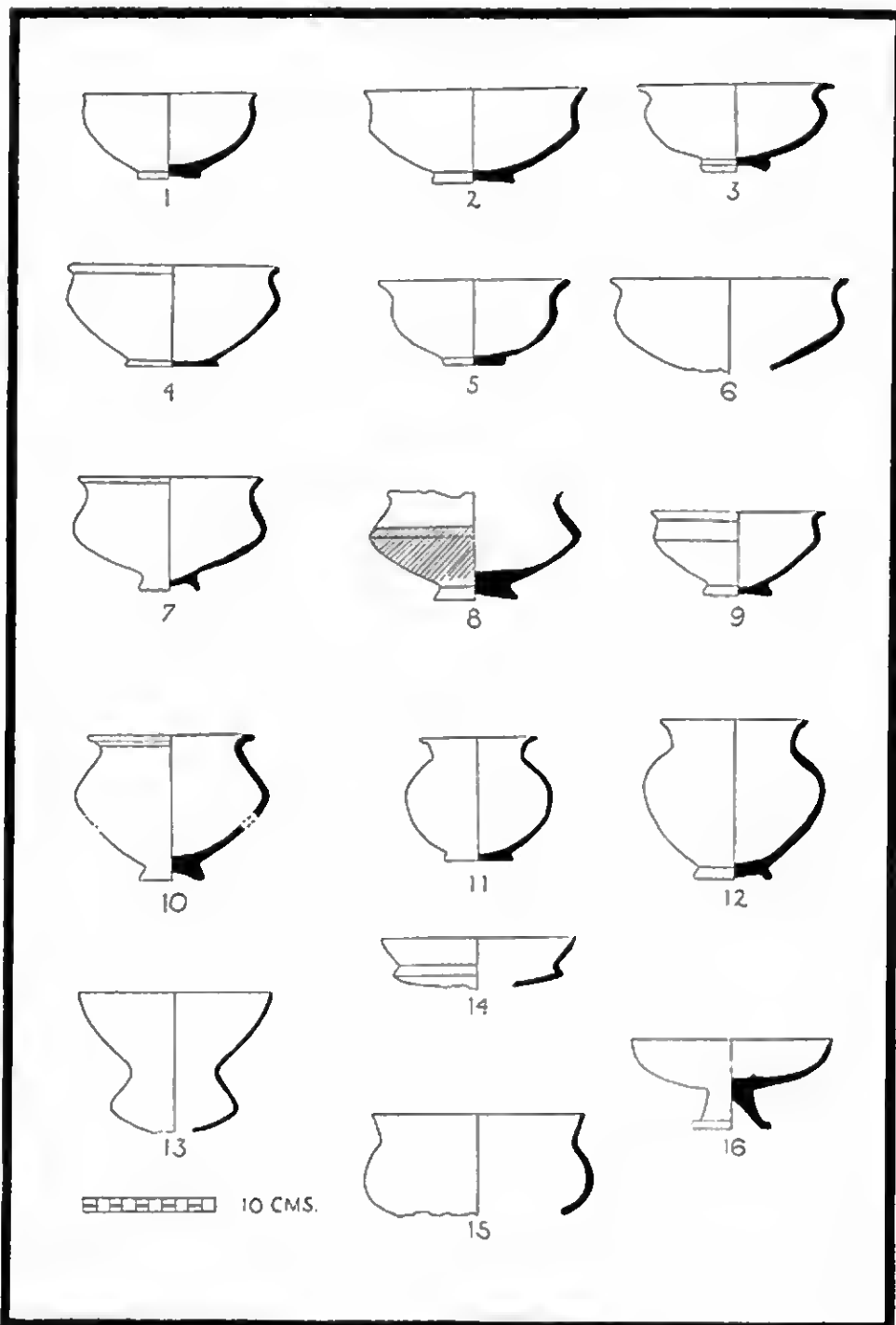


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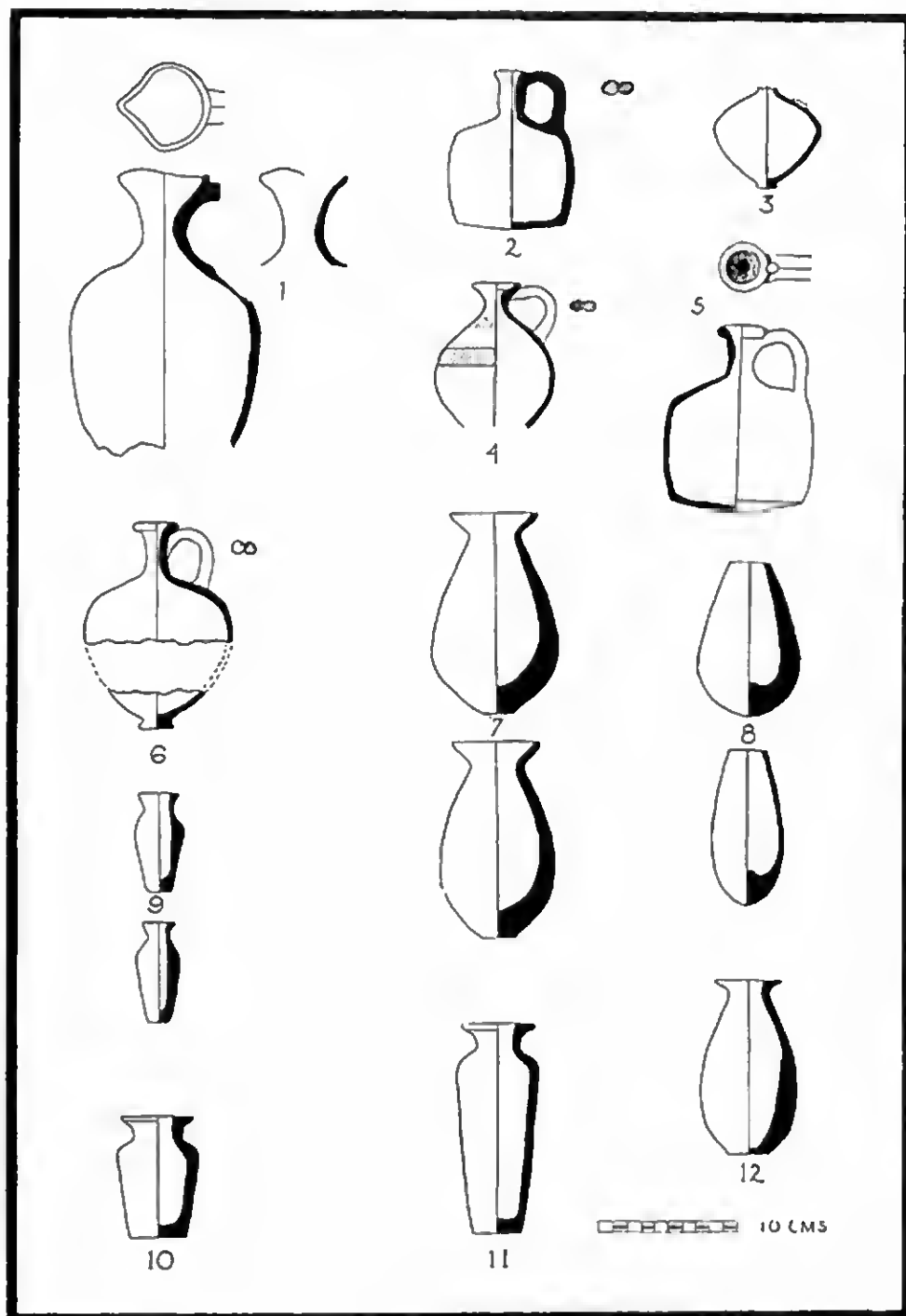


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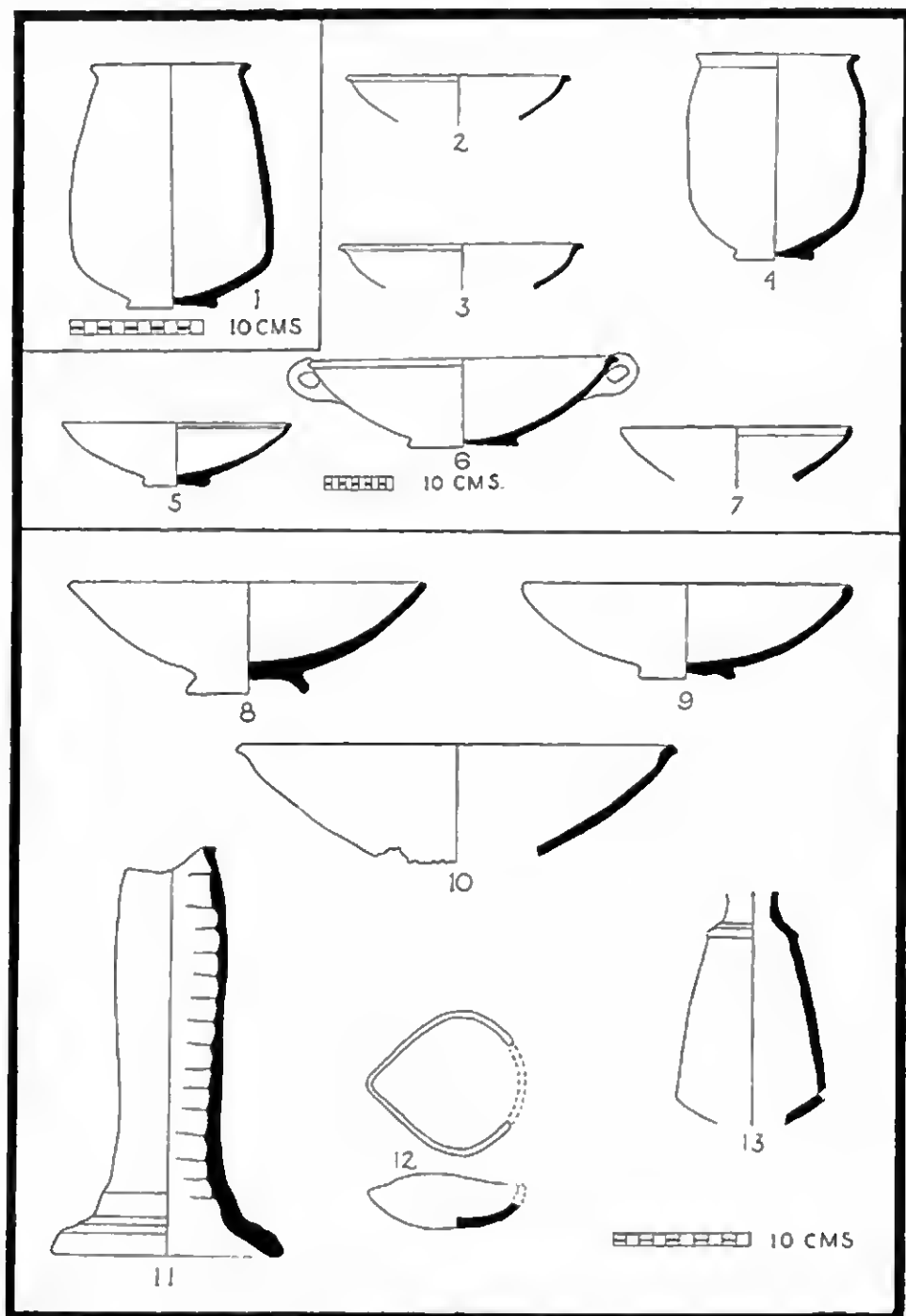


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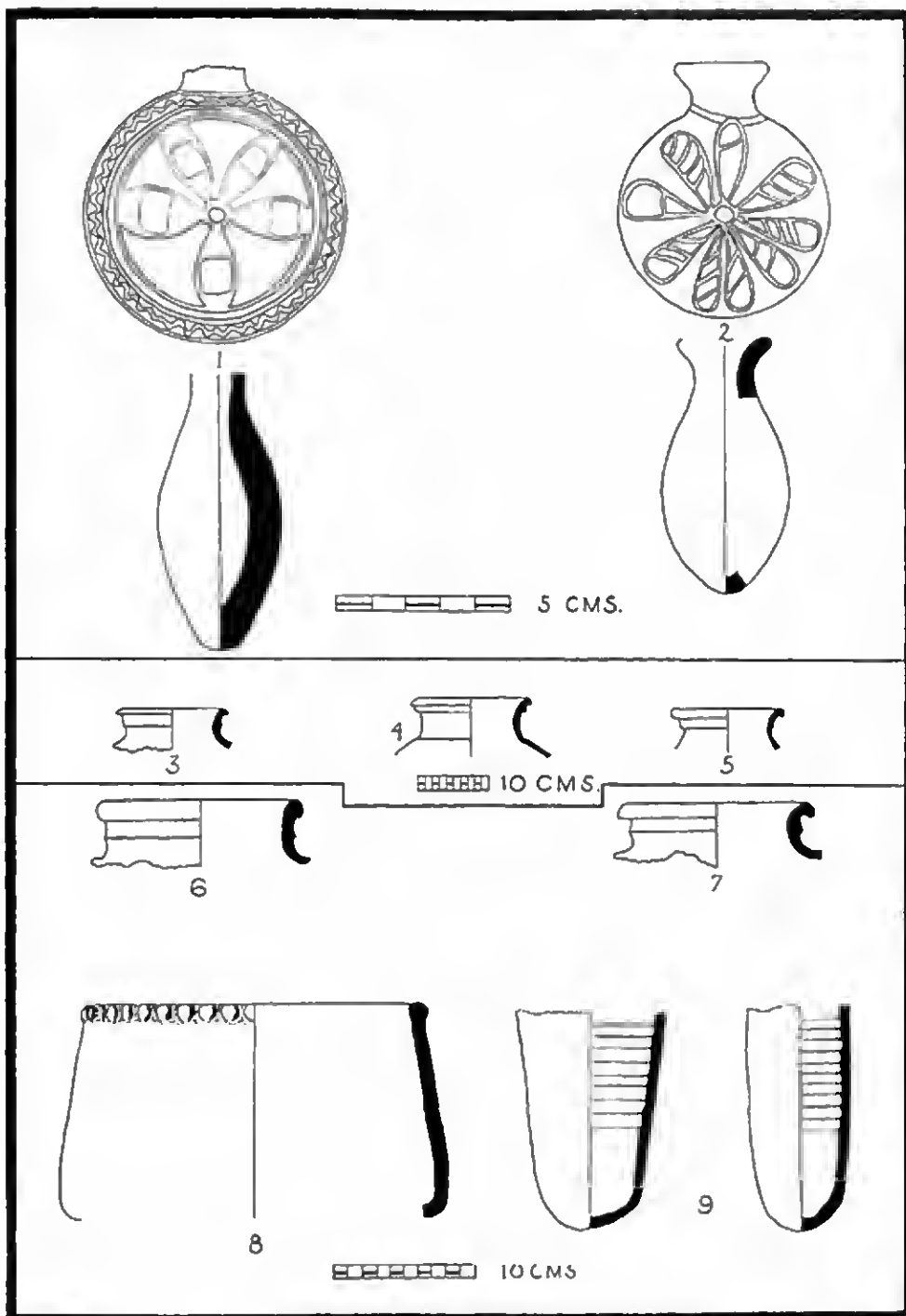


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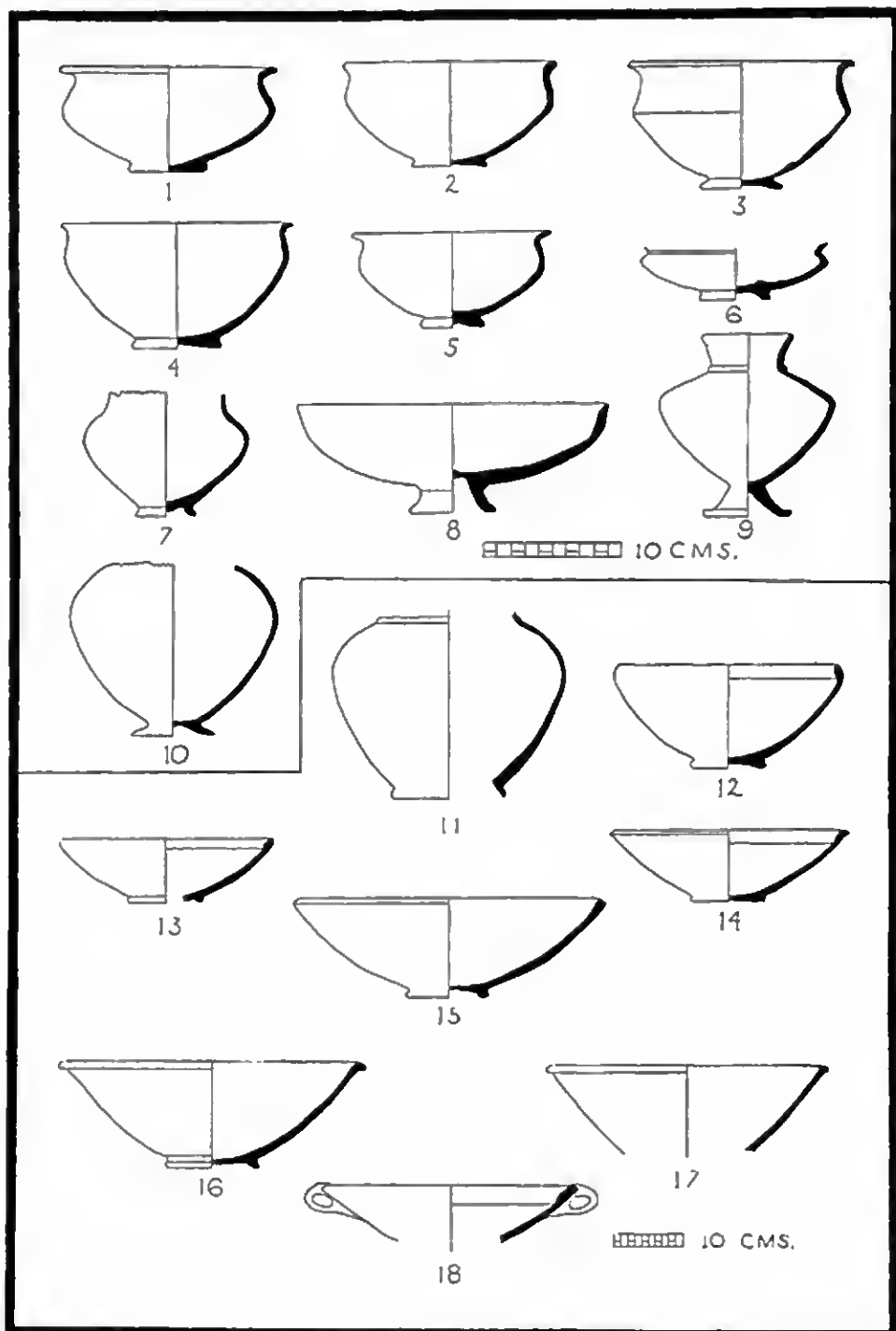


PLATE 12 (D)

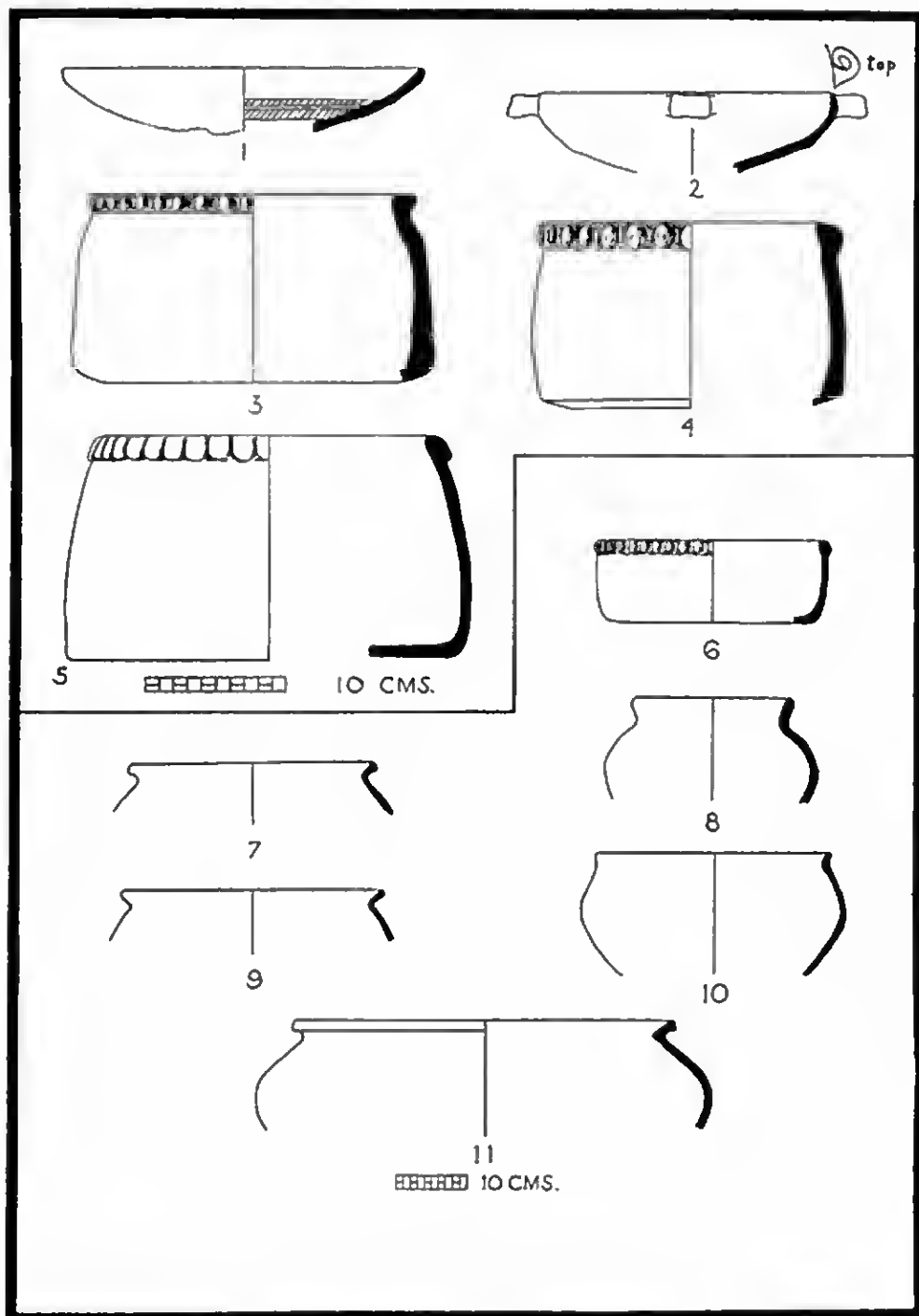
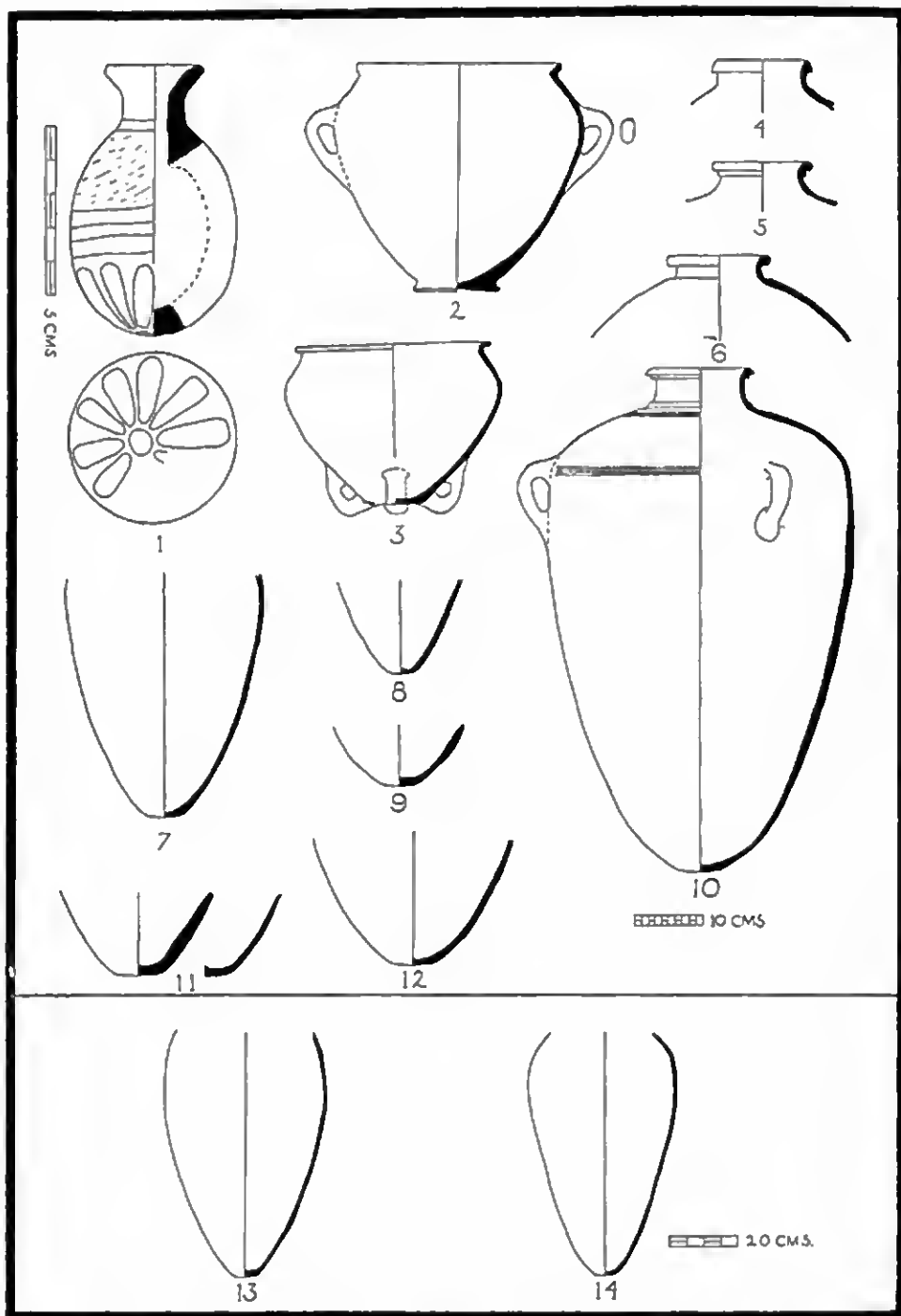


PLATE 13 (D)



. PLATE 14 (D)

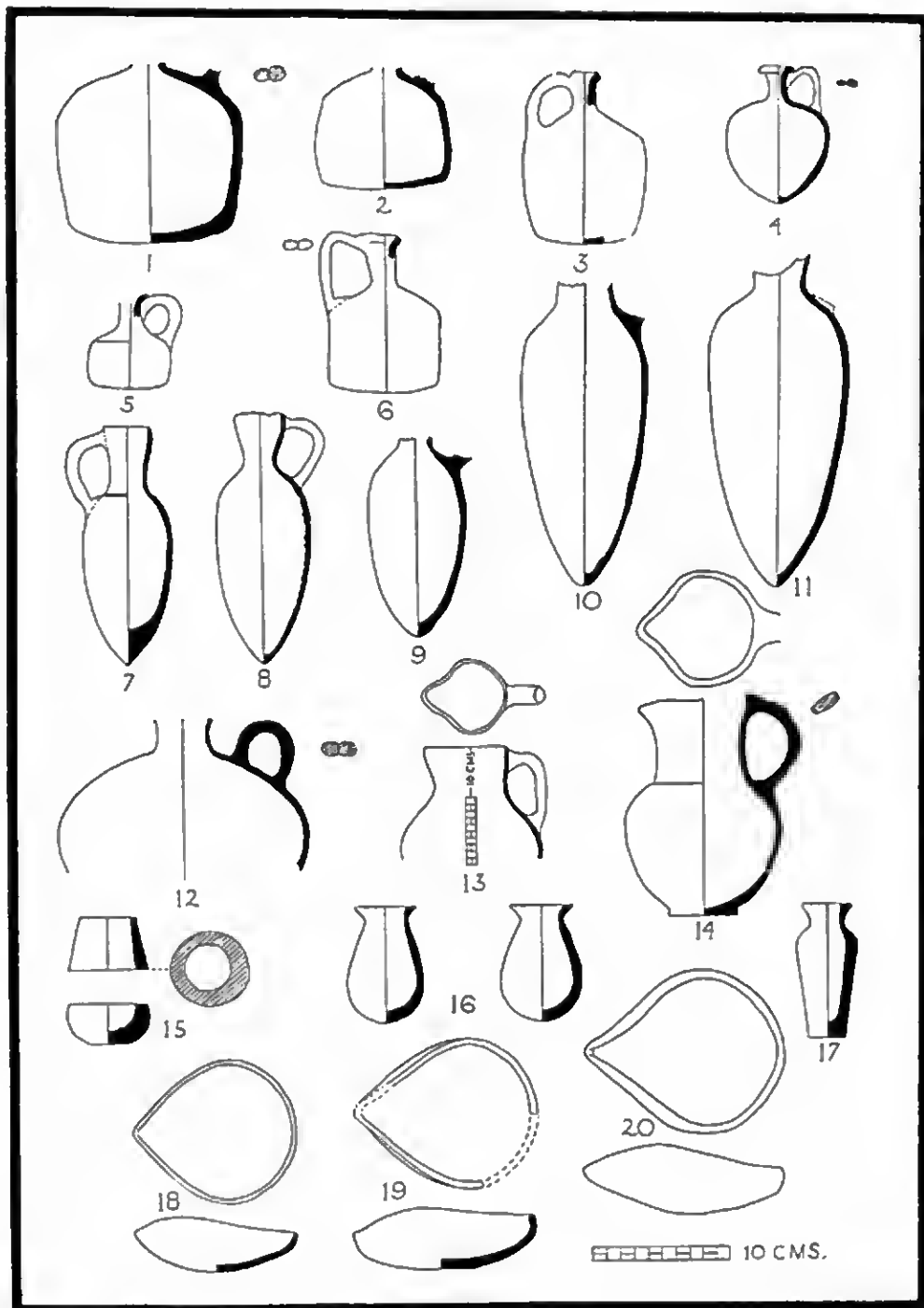


PLATE 15 (D)

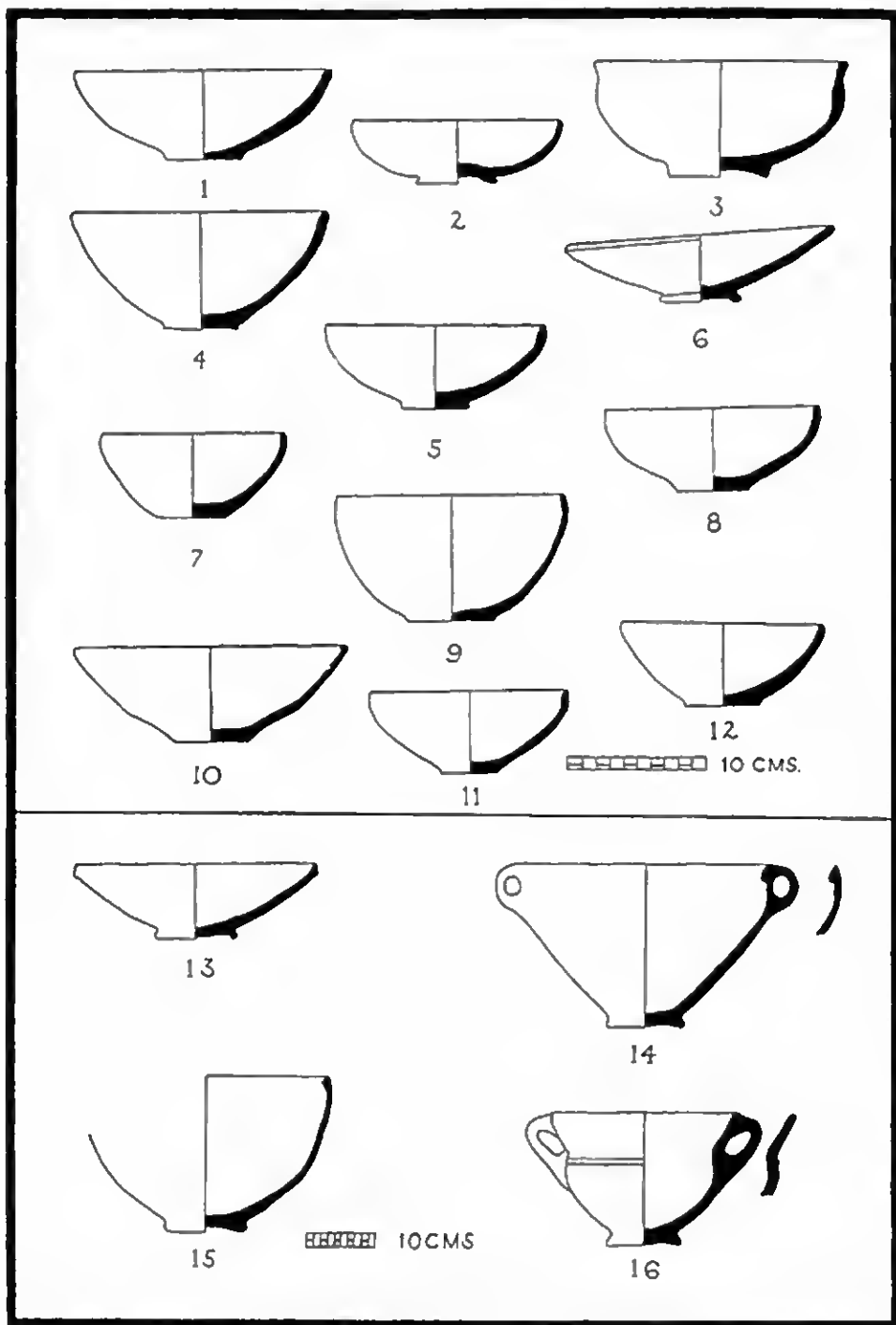


PLATE 16 (C)

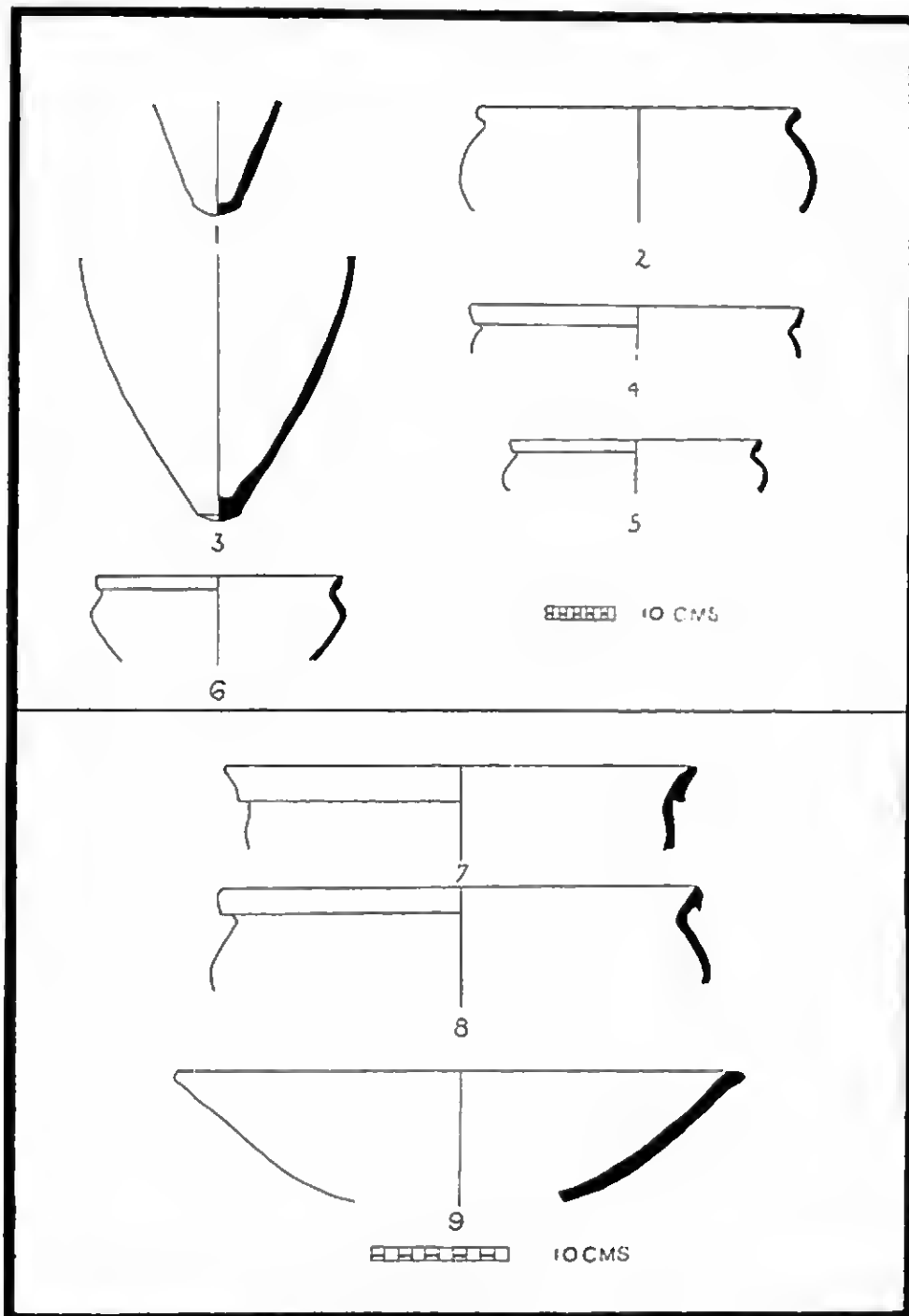


PLATE 17 (C)

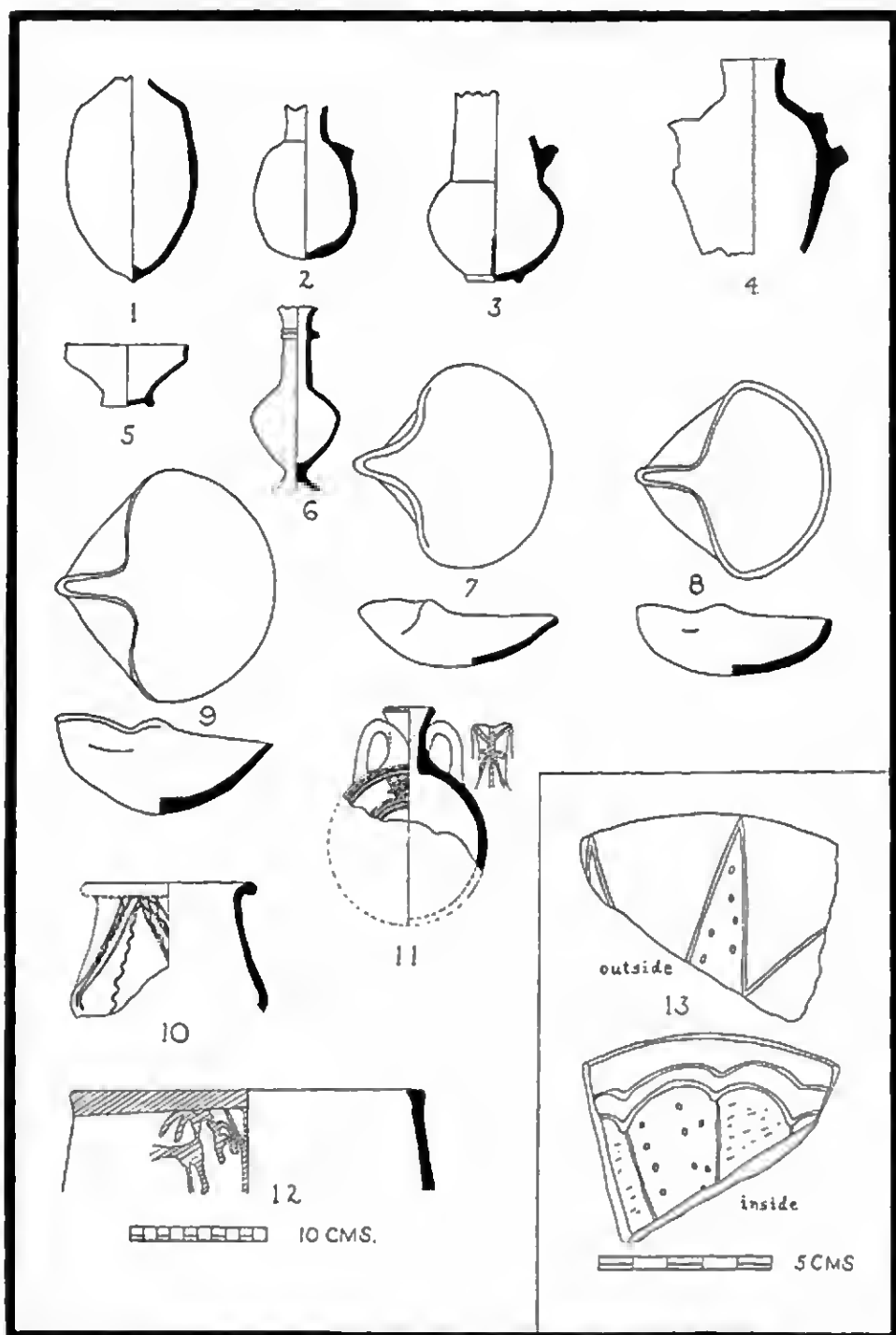


PLATE 18 (C)

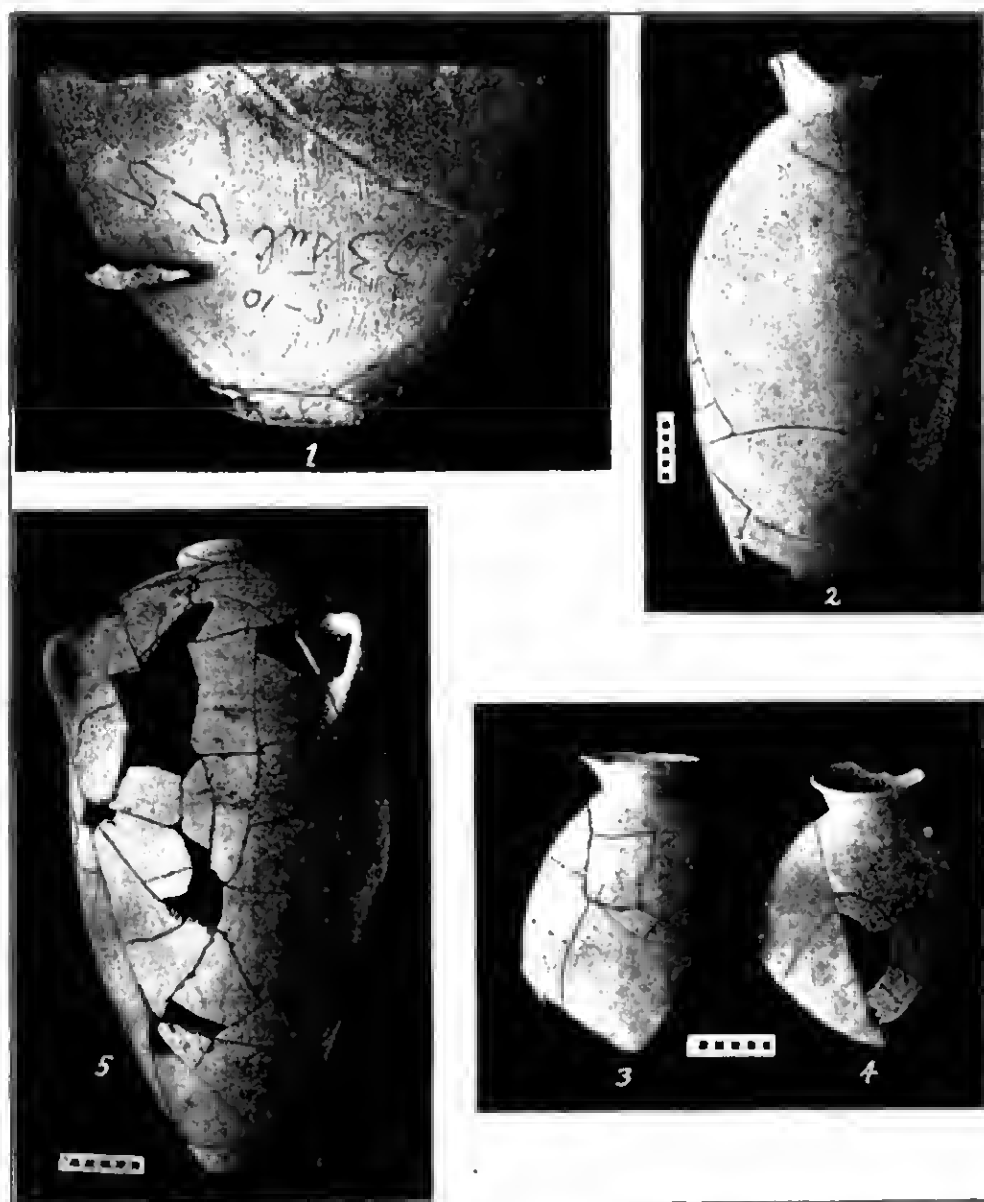


PLATE 10 (J: 1, H: 2-4, E: 5)

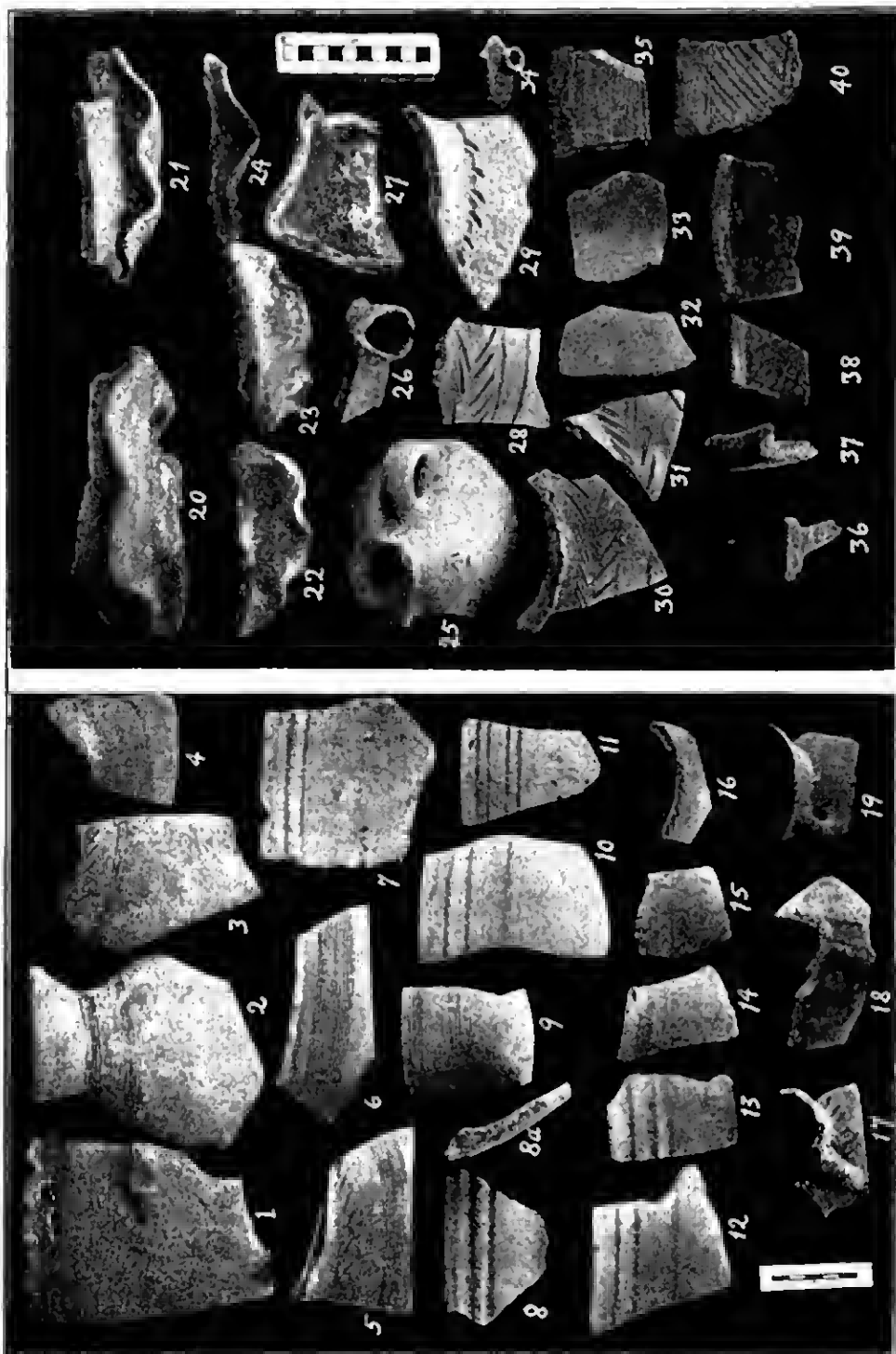


PLATE 20 (J: 20-40; I-H: 1-19)

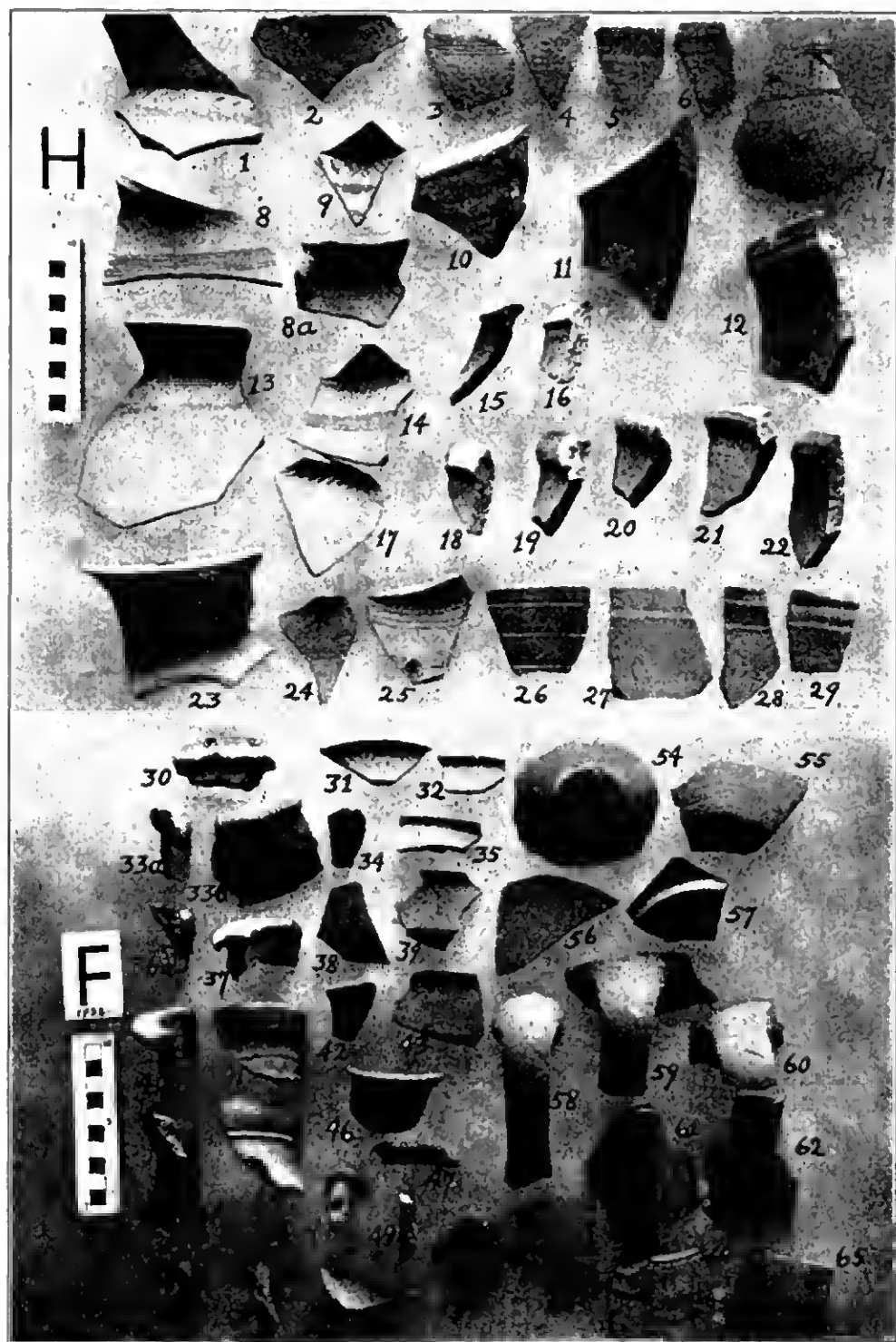


PLATE 21 (H: 1-29; F: 30-65)

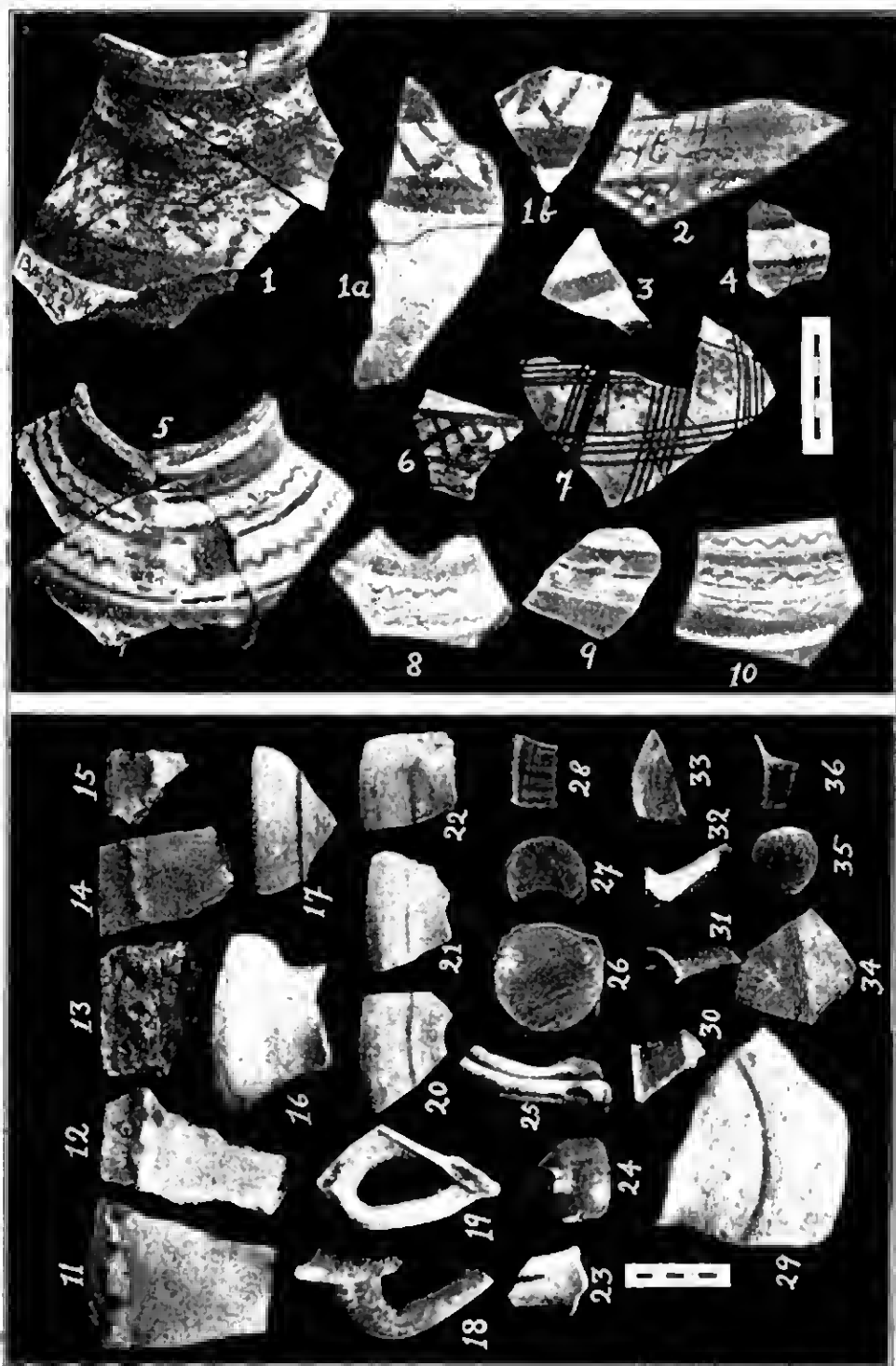


PLATE 22 (G: 11-36; G-F: 1-10)

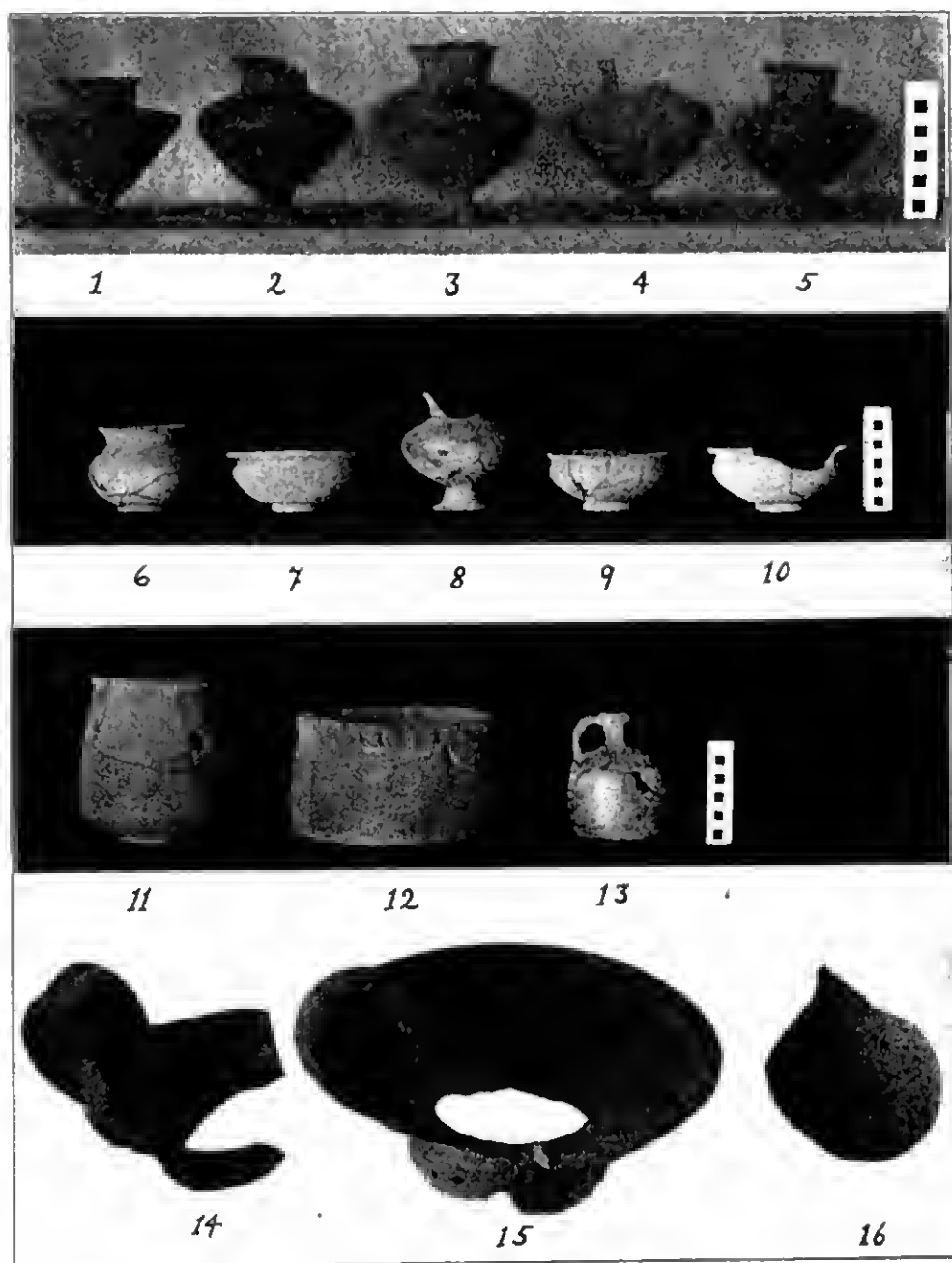


PLATE 23 (E: 1-3, 5-9, 11, 13-16; D: 4, 10, 12)

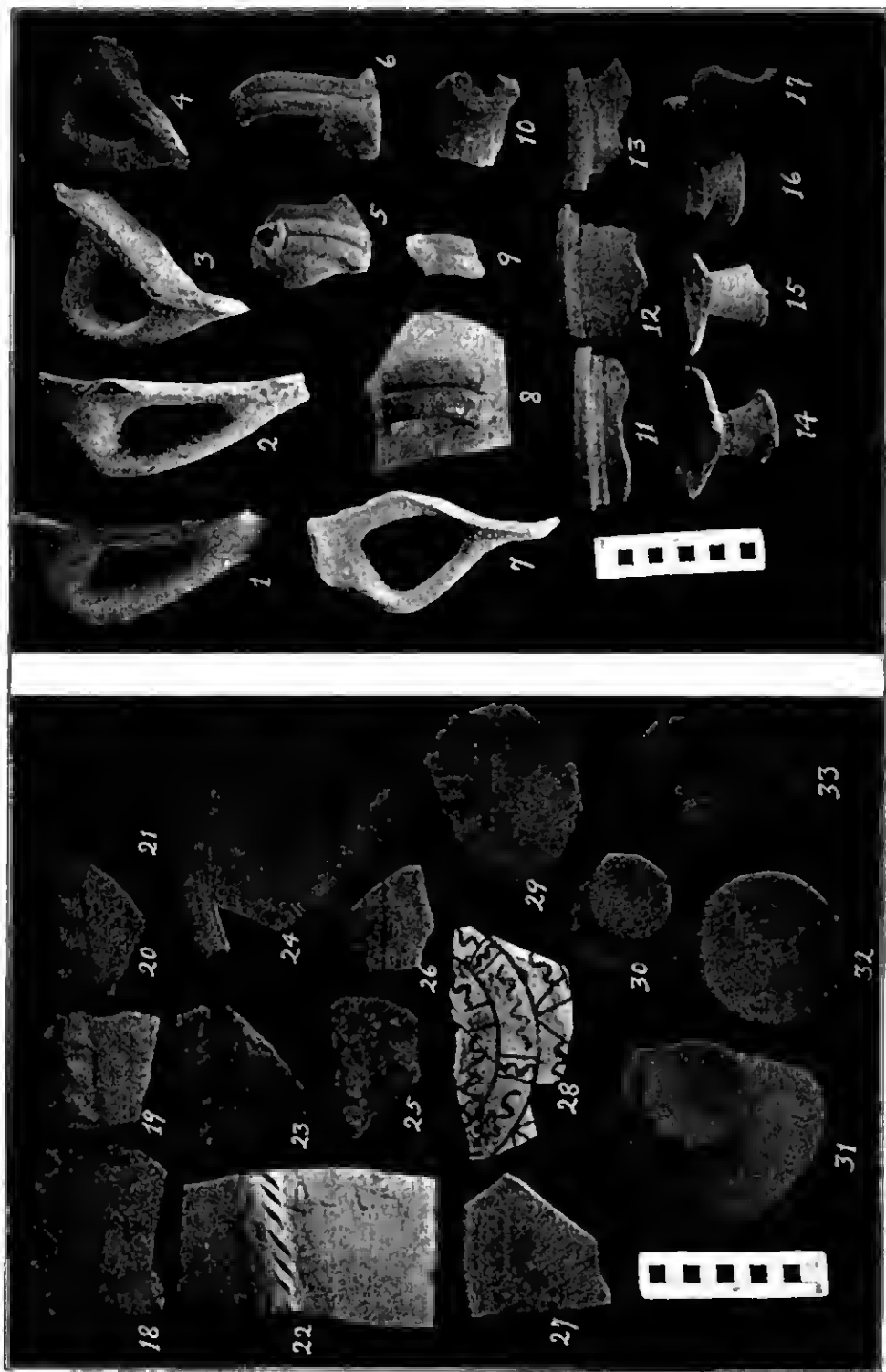


PLATE 24 (E)

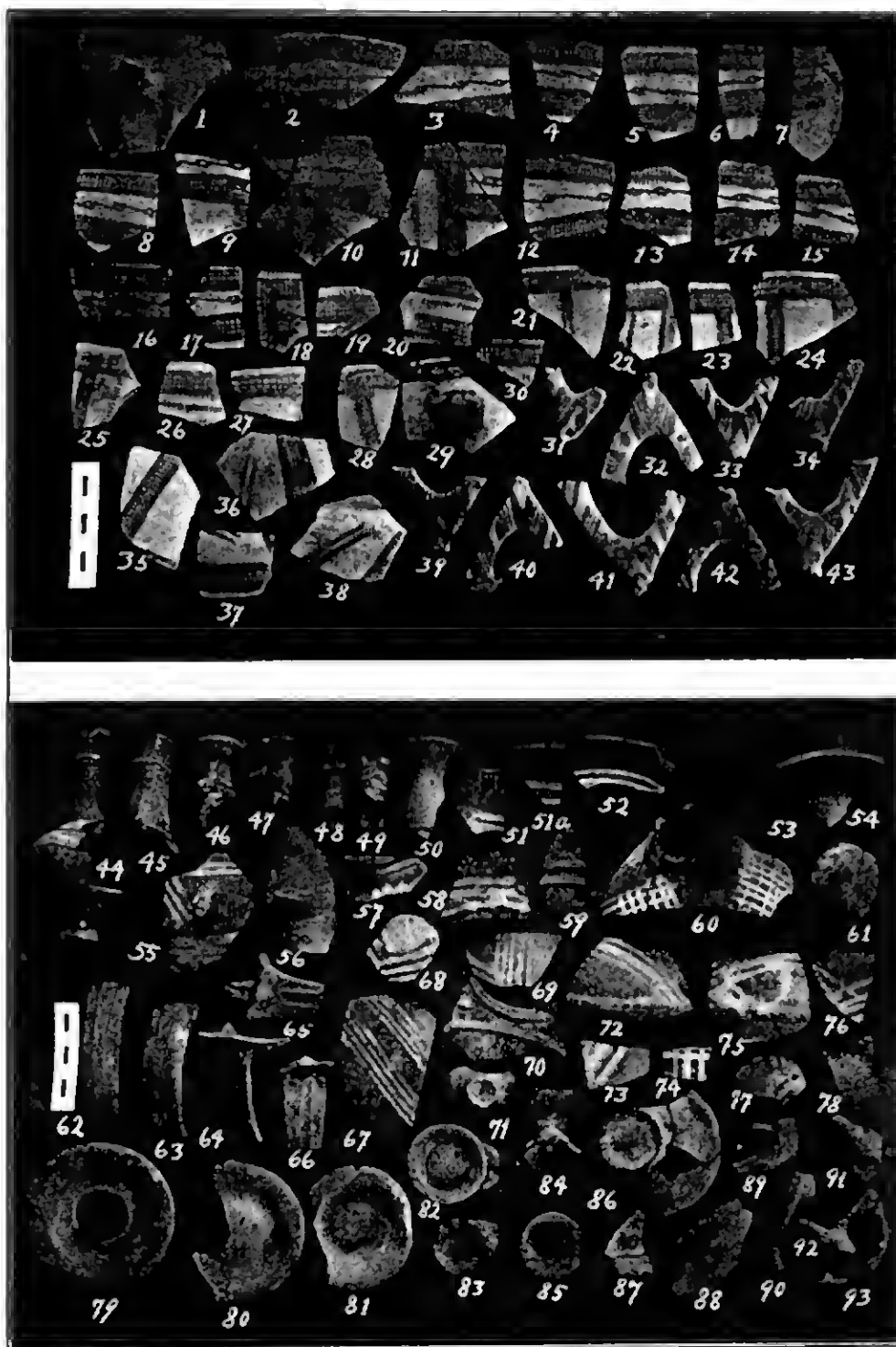


PLATE 25 (C)

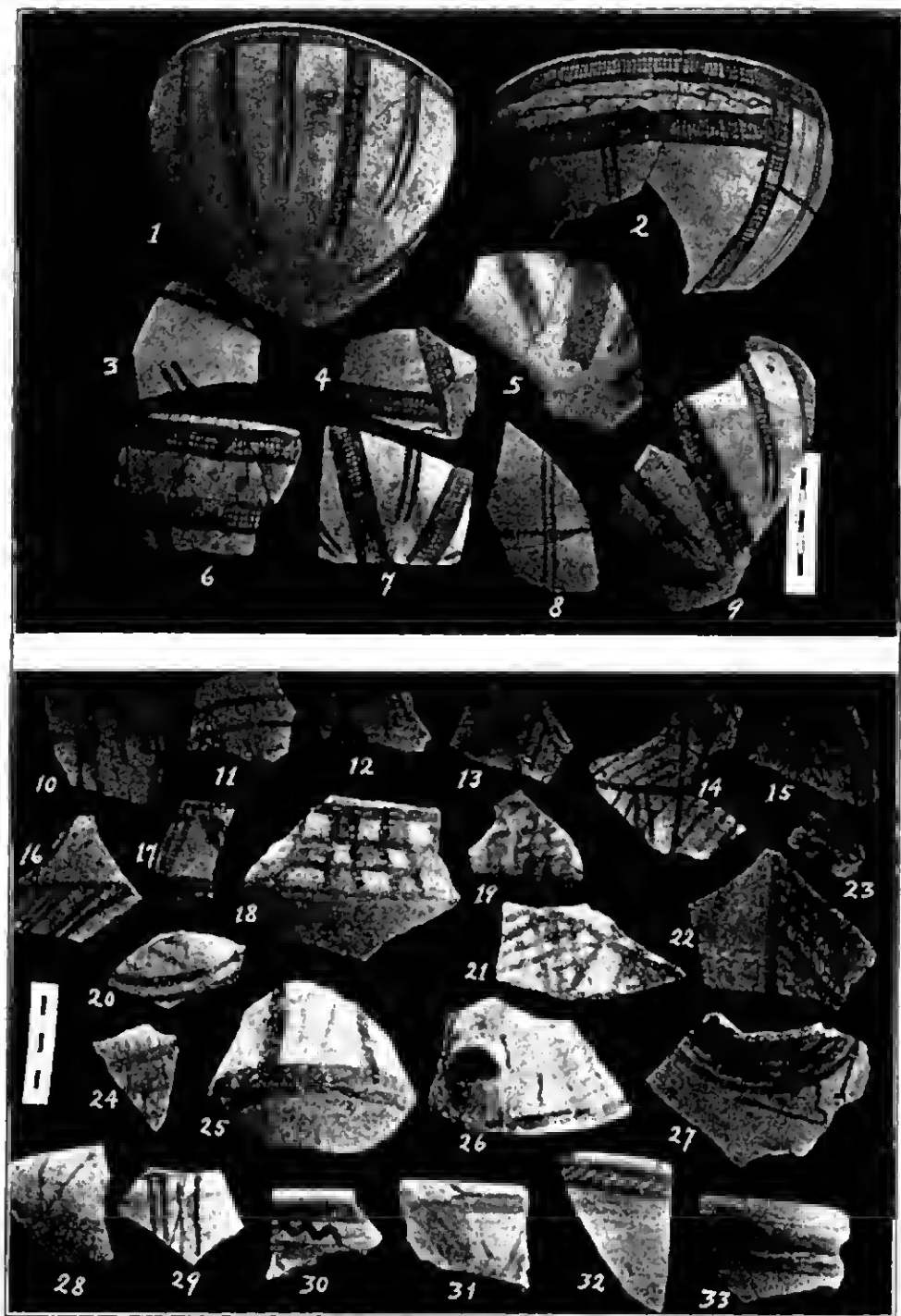


PLATE 26 (C)

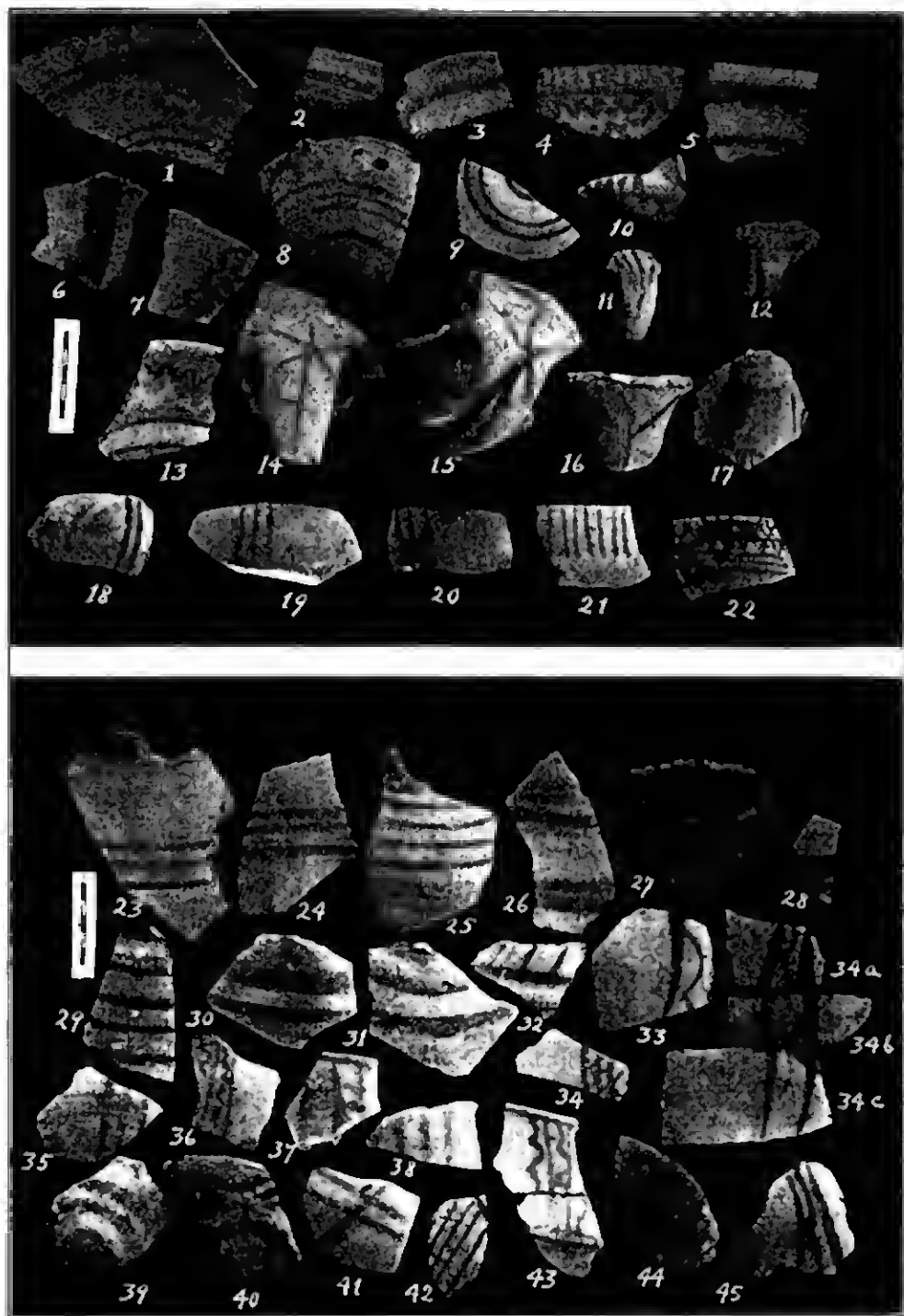


PLATE 27 (C)

THE GODDESSES OF GERASA

C. C. McCOWN

DEAN, PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

Jerash is of interest as affording opportunity for a type-study in the effects upon the Semitic Orient of the invasion of Hellenistic and Roman civilization. The present account is concerned with the religious aspects of this historical problem.

The materials available are considerable. To be sure, the excavation of ancient Gerasa and, therefore, the process of writing its history are only in their beginnings. Much more of valuable information will be acquired as time goes on. Yet enough has been found to justify certain far from merely tentative conclusions. The sites of four temples are known. Two of them have long been familiar, as they constitute outstanding landmarks among the ruins. A third was partially excavated in 1930, and traces of the fourth have been discovered under the great Basilica east of the Fountain Court. But the chief material is inscriptional. In all, over three hundred and thirty inscriptions in five languages have been found in Jerash or its immediate neighborhood, two-thirds of them since the War, chiefly by the expeditions of Yale University with the co-operation, first of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and then of the American School of Oriental Research. One of them is in Aramaic, one is Nabatean and Greek, and 320 are in Greek and Latin. They cover the period of six centuries from the time of Tiberius to the Arab invasion. Nine are in Arabic and fall into the two or three centuries immediately following that invasion.¹

¹ A full account of the progress of the search for inscriptions with a publication of such items as are yet unpublished or inadequately published, some ninety in all, will appear next year in a Jerash volume, to be published jointly by Yale University and the American Schools of Oriental Research. For a brief report see *Bulletin* 49, pp. 3-8.

Abbreviations of works often quoted in this paper are as follows:

ANNUAL—*The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*

AJSL—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.*

ARW—*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.*

BCH — *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.*

Bulletin—*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*

CIA, CIG, CIL, CIS are the well known *Corpora Inscriptionum Atticarum* (*Inscriptiones Graecae* 1-3), *Graccarum*, *Lalinarum*, *Semiticarum*.

Ditt(enberger, W.), OGI—*Orientalis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae*, 1903, 1905; *Syll(oge) Inscriptionum Graccarum*, ed. 3, 1915-21.

Farnell, L. R., *Culte of the Greek States*, 5 vols., 1896-1909.

Of the Greek and Latin inscriptions forty pertain to the Christian churches of centuries four to seven, while fifty have to do with pagan religion and throw a most welcome light on the beliefs and cults of this little city on the edge of the desert at the very outskirts of the Roman Empire. They preserve remarkably full and definite testimony as to the extent of the Greek penetration of the Orient and at the same time offer interesting evidence of the unbroken survival of Semitic deities, some elsewhere unknown, and of the process of syncretism which wove together into a tapestry of many colors the beliefs and rites of the great congeries of peoples who formed the Roman Empire. The problem to be attacked here is the character and relative proportions of the Greek and Semitic religious ideas in the population of the three centuries when Christianity was slowly, and, so far as archaeological evidence is concerned, unobtrusively making its way toward its eventual conquest of the city.

Some nineteen gods are named in Gerasene inscriptions, Zeus sixteen times, Artemis six times with Deana (*sic*) twice, Helios five times, and no other more than twice. There are several anonymous or uncertain dedications. From many points of view the cults of the seven goddesses are more significant and instructive than those of the male divinities. This paper, therefore, concerns itself with them.²

Head, B. V., *Hist(oria) Num(orum)*, 1887.

Hill, G. F., GCBM Arabia—*Catalogue of Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*, 1922; GCBM Palestine—*Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine*, 1914.

IBM—*The Collection of Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, 1874-1910*.

IGSI—*Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et Italiae*, ed. Kaibel, 1890.

IGPI—*Inscriptiones Graecae Peloponnesi et Insularum Vicinarum*, ed. Fraenkel, 1902.

Jones, A. H. M., "Inscriptions from Jerash," in JRS 18 (1928), pp. 144-78; 20 (1930), pp. 43-54, cited by number plus 100.

JRS—*Journal of Roman Studies*.

Lidzbarski, M., *Ephem(eris) für semitische Epigraphik*, 1908-15.

Luens, H., "Reportorium der griechischen Inschriften aus Gerasa," in MDPV 1901, pp. 49-82, cited by number.

MDPV—*Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.

Prentlee, W. K., *Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (Public. of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900, pt. 3), New York, 1908.

QS—Palestine Exploration Fund, *Quarterly Statement*.

RB—*Revue Biblique Internationale*.

SEG—*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, ed. J. J. E. Handius, Leiden.

ZDPV—*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.

² This study is an expansion of part of a paper read before the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast at its meeting in November, 1932. An abstract appeared in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 63, 1932, pp. lxxix f.

Artemis

Theoretically Artemis should have received the greatest share of the city's attention, for Gerasa had the unique distinction of being the only city which explicitly adopted the Huntress as its Tyche. As Farnell points out, many localities but few cities were especially famous for her worship, except where that worship was not purely Greek. In the hymn of Callimachus to Artemis, Zeus promises her "thrice ten cities which shall cherish no other deity but only thee and shall be called of Artemis," but as Farnell observes, "either these *πολίδεσσι* are not Greek cities proper, or are unknown to us."³ Even in Asia Minor and Syria Artemis is not called the Tyche of any other city, although she is famous enough as the chief goddess of such cities as Magnesia on the Maeander and Ephesus.⁴

She is represented on the coins of a considerable number of cities, fourteen in Magna Graecia, twenty-three in Northern Greece, Thruce, and Macedonia, eleven in Thessaly and Central Greece, twelve in the Peloponnesus, one in Icaria, and in twenty-three cities of Asia Minor.⁵ She wears the turret crown of the Tauric Chersonese after the period of Alexander, and a late coin of Amphipolis shows a figure which personifies the state holding in her hand a statuette of Artemis Tauropolos. The Ephesian goddess wears the turret crown. Milesian coins of the Roman period show her wearing the modius and veil. These are the only examples which Farnell discovered of representations of Artemis which make her the chief, or tutelary, deity of a city. Callimachus represents the facts and the dominantly wild character of Artemis when he makes her say, "But give me all the mountains . . . for it is rare that Artemis goes down to the cities."⁶

There can be no doubt, however, that the goddess of the mountains and the wilds did descend into Gerasa, for nearly all of the known coins of the city bear the legend *Ἀρτεμις Τύχη Γερασίων*, and the beautiful temple which was the architectural center of Gerasa's admirably conceived and beautifully executed city plan has long been recognized as dedicated to her and not to Helios, as was once erroneously supposed.

A coin of Marcus Aurelius has been found which represents the Tyche of the city standing with a rudder and cornucopia in her hands while the emperor

³ *Cults*, 2, p. 469; Callimachus, *In Dianam*, ll. 34 f.

⁴ Indeed she appears to be distinguished from the *Τύχη* in some inscriptions; see below, n. 28.

⁵ So Farnell, *Cults*, 2, p. 534 and note *d*; see the long geographical list, pp. 603-6. Gerasa is omitted, although mentioned on p. 470 and in ref. 118.

⁶ *Δὸς δέ μοι οἶρεα πάντα· πόλιν δέ μοι ἦντινα νείμω*
ἦντινα λῆς· σπαρὸν γὰρ ἔτι Ἀρτεμις ἄστυ κάτεισιν. *In Dian.* ll. 18 f.

stands behind her. A coin of Lucius Verus shows the Tyche seated on a rock holding ears of grain while a river god, doubtless "Chrysorrhoas," as the little stream that flows through Wâdi Jerash was named, swims at her feet.⁷ But these are most unusual examples of the city's numismatic efforts, imitations of other cities' coinage. Another coin struck by the city has a bust of Crispina, wife of Commodus, on the obverse, and a much modified, beautified, and idealized Crispina as Artemis on the reverse.⁸ But this is only an individualized example of the type which appears on nearly all of the city's coins.⁹

The busts on the coins of the usual type probably indicate something as to the statue of the goddess which must have stood at the back of the little adyton in the marble-lined cella of the graceful temple, with *σύνταξις θεῶν* about her in the niches of the walls.¹⁰ It is a charmingly designed bust of the youthful huntress with her quiver showing over her right shoulder and her hair in a smooth chignon at the nape of her neck. She bears some resemblance to the Dresden Artemis which Furtwängler regarded as copied from Praxiteles,¹¹ but the hair is not short and the knot is lower and smoother than in the Dresden Artemis, lower than in the bust of Crispina or the Artemis of Versailles, while over the parted hair above the forehead is either the downward pointing crescent of the moon as in the Versailles Artemis, or a roll of hair worn *pompadour*, as in the Apollo Belvidere. Some examples suggest a turban or else a chaplet. One has a projection like a horn or uraeus over the forehead.¹²

A terra-cotta figurine found in 1930 in Tomb 4, which had preserved one Gerasene coin, probably of Lucius Verus, and others of Domitian and Rabel II of Petra (71-106 A. D.), doubtless represents some goddess (fig. 1). There is no quiver at the back and the neck is thick and heavy, probably because of a collar. But in profile on a coin, the figurine's headdress might well appear as does that of the bust on many of the Gerasene coins. The figurine is not at all the youthful huntress lightly clad, with her chiton drawn above her knees, but a sedate, matronly figure wearing a chiton which almost covers the feet and a heavy mantle draped over her left shoulder and under the right arm. Both hands are lost, but enough remains to indicate their approximate

⁷ Hill, *GCBM, Arabia*, pp. xxxiv f., pl. 49, 18 and 19.

⁸ De Sauley, *Num. de la Terre Sainte*, p. 385, pl. XXII, 2.

⁹ See ANNUAL XI, 38 f., where references are given.

¹⁰ See Dr. Fisher's description of the temple, *ib.*, 22-30.

¹¹ *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 324 ff., figs. 139, 140; cf. Farnell, *Cults*, 2, pl. 35 b (p. 540) and p. 546.

¹² Hill, *GCBM, Arabia*, pp. xxxiv f., 31 f., pl. V, 4, 5, 6. See the vase painting reproduced by Farnell, *Cults*, 2, pl. 30 b (p. 524).

position. The left hand may be occupied with the folds of the skirt, or possibly it may have held some object rather close to the side, even a cornucopia. The right hand was extended toward the front.

There is a bare possibility that this figurine reproduces the cult figure of the city's goddess. Since she was the city's Tyche, she was doubtless represented, not in the act of hunting or in the wilds, but after the fashion of the Tyche statues which were developed from the Dresden type.¹³ In a cult statue of the city's protectress the beneficent and not the destructive side of the goddess's nature would be emphasized. The right arm would not reach for the death-dealing arrow, but may have caressed a fawn, as in the statue from Gabii, now in Munich, or carried the lighted torch, as in the Argive relief, or lifted the folds of her dress, as in a statue from Pompeii, now in the Naples museum.¹⁴ The right hand of the Jerash figurine was extended in such a fashion as easily to have held a patera over an altar as in a carnelian which Furtwängler reproduces, or it may have held a cornucopia, as does the left in two gems in Furtwängler's collection.¹⁵

Nothing except the coins and the very doubtful figurine has been found to indicate which of the various types was adopted for the goddess of Gerasa, and it can only be said that doubtless the Tyche of the city was, as the face on the coins indicates, *εὐμεδής τε καὶ ἰλαος*.¹⁶ The Orphic Hymn addresses Tyche as Artemis, and, while it does not overlook the severe, destructive side of her character, nevertheless it beseeches her to show her gentler, more beneficent nature as giver of wealth.

Hither, O Fortune, hear, I implore thee;
Gracious thy sway o'er thy worshipper's prayer,
Artemis, lady of fair names uncounted,
Generous guide to possessions so fair.¹⁷

The crescent diadem which binds the hair above her forehead in the Versailles statue and which seems to appear on some of the Gerasene coins suggests one of the phases of the goddess' character which is in dispute, her

¹³ Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

¹⁴ Farnell, *Cults*, 2, pl. 33 (p. 525), pl. 35 a (p. 540), pl. 32 b (p. 530).

¹⁵ *Antike Gemmen*, 2, p. 187, pl. 39, no. 11, p. 156, pl. 31, no. 41.

¹⁶ Callimachus, *In Dianam*, l. 129.

¹⁷ Δεῦρο, Τύχη· καλέω σ', ἀγαθὴν κράντειραν ἐπ' εὐχαῖς,
μειλιχίην, ἰσοδίτιν, ἐπ' εὐόλοισι κτεάτεσσιν,
Ἄρτεμιν ἡγεμόνην, μεγάλων μοῖαν, Εὐβουλῆος
αἵματος ἐκγεγαῶσαν, . . .

Hymn. Orph., ed. Abel, no. 72.

In this case Tyche is given the name of Artemis, rather than *vice versa*, as at Jerash. She is sprung from Pluto, not from Zeus and Leto.

lunar relations. But whether or not she was from the beginning or at least from early times identified with Selene and paired as moon goddess with Phoebus Apollo representing the sun, there is no doubt that this side of her activity was fully recognized long before the first century A. D. De Sauley found it clearly indicated on one Gerasene coin by a thin crescent placed beneath the bust of the goddess.¹⁸

The six Greek inscriptions mentioning Artemis and the two Latin altars both to Deana (*sic*), which have come to light at Jerash, give a small but welcome amount of information about her. Three of the eight inscriptions are precisely dated, in 70-80, 98, and 150 A. D. Four more fall within or near this period. One on palaeographic grounds may be assigned to the third century. One fragment seems to have been a votive inscription. Four were altars, three are records of building.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Num. de la Terre Sainte*, p. 385, pl. XXII, 1, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, no. 312, personally verified.

¹⁹ The inscriptions are here given in the order of their inventory numbers, which will be used in making reference to them.

(2) (Lucas) Θεῆ Ἀρτέμιδι· / Δημήτριος Ἀρισ-/ [τίων]ος καὶ / [...]-ονεί, Ἀρτε-/ μιδῶρον μήτηρ. Ἔτους γισ'. 150-1 A. D. Rectangular altar.

(3) (Lucas) Ἔτους ἐρ', Ἀρτεμισίου ἀκ'· / ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν / σωτηρίας Διογένης Λεωνίδου Ἀρτέμιδι κυρία τὸν / βωμὸν εὐσεβείας καὶ χρη-/σμοῦ ἐνεκεν. Διογένης / Λεωνίδου τοῦ Μάλλχου. 98 A. D. Altar found and still to be seen on the northern wing wall of the stairway leading from the propylaea to the temple court. See fig. 3.

(4) (Lucas) [Θ]εῇ Λακα[ίτη] / ἐπηκόη Ἀρτ[ί]-/μιδι· Φλ[ό]ουτος Κερσί/λοχος εὐσεβῶν· / [ἐτ(ους)] θπρ' Ἀπελλ[α]ίου ..]. In the last line Germer-Durand, *RB* 1899, p. 9, no. 5, read ... ογ...ελλ... Apparently Puchstein (Lucas) read the same. I read the stone ... α... but now see the squeeze differently. The date may be θπρ'. If so, it belongs to 56 A. D. If it should read επρ', the date is 122 A. D., and θπρ' is 126 A. D. The palaeography favors an even later date, and θιτ' is a barely possible reading, making the date 256 A. D. The restoration Λακα[ίτη] (Germer-Durand) is doubtful, for there is hardly room for the letters. But I know of nothing better. At the end of l. 4 I read the stone εὐσεβεία[ς], and the squeeze seems to me to favor that reading. But there is then no room for χάριν before the horizontal line which marks the date. A rectangular base, now in Museum.

(5) (Lucas) Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ· ἔτους βμρ'· / ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σω-/τηρίας Ἀρτέμιδι Κυρία τὴν / στοὰν ἐπήσαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων / οἱ σεβόμενοι, καὶ τὸν λάκκον / ἐν τῷ βλρ' ἔτει. A panel within a molding. The upper line is in smaller letters and was apparently added later. 69-70 A. D.

(16) (Lucas) Ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκράτο[ρος] / Καίσαρος Τ(ίτου) Αἰλίου Ἀδρ[ι]ανοῦ / Ἀντωνεί[ν]ου Σεβ(αστοῦ) Εὐσεβ(οῦς) πατρ(ος) π(ατριδος) καὶ Αὐρηλίου Κα[ί]σαρος / [υ]ίου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν [ἄ]λλων τέκνων καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντο[ς] οἴκου σωτη[ρίας] / καὶ κρά[τ]ους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἱερᾶ[ς] συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἡ πόλις / τὸ προπύλ[αι]ον σὺν τῇ στοᾷ ἀφιέρωσεν / ἐπὶ Λ(ουκίου) Ἀττωδίου Κορηλιανοῦ πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ), ἀ[ν]τιστρ-(ατήγου), ἑπατοῦ ἀν[α]δε[δειγμέν]ου. / ἔτους γισ' Δε[κ]ε[μβ]ρίου δκ'.

The Temple of Artemis

The building operations recorded cover nearly a century, possibly even two. In 69-70 A. D. the worshippers of Lady Artemis built her a pool and ten years later a stoa (no. 5). Excavation has as yet discovered no pool within the temple precincts. In the spring of 1930 Mr. Crowfoot began the excavation of a structure from which a few stones projected in the center of the court a little distance in front of the temple portico. Eventually, under rude buildings of later date, there emerged part of the base of a large rectangular structure lying a little to the north of the median line of the temenos and temple. The excavations which we carried on in the autumn of that year cleared a circular structure nearby which proved to be a large pottery kiln. The kiln itself was surrounded by a high circular wall made of finely cut

(104) (Jones) Deanae / Flavinus Apol(linaris mil(ia) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae). A small rectangular altar of the conventional shape, found at the top of the Propylaea stairway. See fig. 2. As the legion was moved from Egypt to Bostra not earlier than 119 A. D., the inscription should date after that time, perhaps in 132 A. D. See no. 205 below.

(138) (Jones) [Φλ(άουιος Μου)νάτιος Φλ(αυίου) Μουνατίου (ἐκατοντάρχου) υἱός, ἱππικός, βουλ(ῆς) ἱερᾶς ἀγνός στρατη(γός), / [τὸ πρό]βαιον τῆς Κυρίας Ἀρτέμ[ιδος] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐψηφοθέτ[ησε]ν. Found in the street in front of the Propylaea. To avoid misunderstanding it should be said that the conventional sign for ἐκατοντάρχης, a chi over a rho, was at first taken for the well known Christian symbol and it was supposed that a Christian had referred to the goddess as Lady Artemis and had beautified her temple, an action impossible for a Christian. See *QS* 1929, p. 20. The beautifully cut letters in an elongated style suggest the third century, according to Jones.

(201) Unpub. [Ἔρως] .ῥρ: ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβα[σ]-τῶν σ[ωτηρίας] Θεᾶ πατρῶα Ἀρ[τέμ]-ιδι· Ἀ]λέξανδρος Ἀπολλᾶ τοῦ Ἀλ[ε]-ξάνδρου τὸν ἀπύρου λίθου τό[πον] / σ[τῆν] τῇ θείᾳ καὶ θυρώμασι ἐκ [τῶν ἰ-δίων] ἐποίησεν κατ' εὐχ[ῆν] / .θ.. τῇν ὑπὲρ Μαρε[ι]νιανοῦ (?) / .TEEZZI] καὶ εὐσεβ[είας] χάριν. To be published adequately later; see n. 1 above. The date is some time in Gerasa's second century, that is between 37 and 136 A. D., later rather than earlier in this period, according to the palaeography of the inscription. While the first two letters only of the name of the goddess are preserved and Ἀραβική is possible, a carefully measured drawing by my pupil, Miss Margaret Harrison, indicates that Ἀρτέμιδι is decidedly to be preferred. Moreover, the stone was found in debris in the north cryptoporticus of the temple.

(295) (Cheesman, *JRS* 4, 1914, p. 13) Pro salute / Imp(eratoris) Ches(aris) n(ostri) Traian(i) / Hadriani Aug(usti) P(atris) P(atriciae) / Deanae Aug(ustae) / Equites Sing(ulares) eius qui / hibernati sunt Antioch[i]-ae ad Chrysorhoan quae / et Gerasa h[ie]ra et nsulo(s) et an(tonomos) quorum curam agit / M. Cal(purnius) Venetus viator legum V. M[un]-cedonicae turmae v[er]it[is] / Flavi [Tit]i Statili Roma[n]i / Val(eri) Bassi Cati August[ini] / . . . Paterni Ulpi Festi / Ulpi Victoria Ulpi Agrippini / v(otum) s(olvit) = l(ibens) m(erito) / honoris et pietatis causa. Apparently an altar, found northeast of the Propylaea. To be dated about 132 A. D.

stones which had been shaped to a different curve from that of the wall in which they were found. It seems probable that this kiln was what has sometimes been taken for an altar, sometimes for a pool. While it was neither, it may well be that the stones were taken from a circular pool in the temple court, while the rectangular structure, which could not be totally excavated because of practical and legal obstacles, was the great altar.

It would be interesting to know to what stoa, or portico, reference is made in the inscription. If it means the twelve great columns of the temple portico or the half mile of colonnades which surround the temple court, the achievements of the worshippers of Lady Artemis at this date were considerable. Unfortunately no means of determining these matters have as yet come to light.

About the same time as the building of the pool and stoa, or a little later, Alexander, son of Apollas, grandson of Alexander, erected some structure with doorway and doors, all of imperishable stone, in honor of the "ancestral goddess, Artemis" (no. 201). Sometime in the third century the centurion Flavius Munatius, of equestrian rank, "reverend commander of the sacred council," paved the "vestibule" of the Lady Artemis with mosaics, an action which may be taken as repair or reconstruction, rather than the completion of the structure (no. 138). A trace of coarse mosaics appeared in front of the Propylaea. The climax and possibly the completion of the building operations came in the middle of the second century, for an inscription which does not mention the goddess records the building of the monumental propylaea and portico to the temenos by Attidius Cornelianus, legate of Antoninus Pius, in the year 150-151 A. D. (no. 16). Whether the same imperial munificence which probably built the triumphal arch and south gate of the city completed or rebuilt all the central section of the city's *via principalis* with Corinthian columns and erected the magnificent entrance to the Artemis preeinct, also completed the temple, is a matter which is still uncertain.²⁰ The absence of any fragment of a dedicatory inscription such as must have been found on the architrave, and of architrave blocks, but still more the absence of the gigantic drums of the columns of the peristyle on the sides and rear of the building suggest the possibility that destruction overtook the temple before it was finished.

Epithets of Artemis

Various epithets or titles are applied to the goddess. On the coins she is *Τύχη*. The inscriptions address her as *Κυρία*, as *Θεὰ πατρίδα*, and as *Θεὰ Λάκαινα*.

²⁰ See Dr. Fisher's observations, *ANNUAL XI*, 24; *Bulletin 45*, pp. 8 f.

ἐπήκοος. For Roman soldiers the Tyche of the city is Deana. The two Latin inscriptions set up by soldiers spell her name with *e* instead of *i*. In one case (no. 104) Flavius Apollinaris, a simple *miles legionis tertiae Cyrenicae*, set up a little altar to her (fig. 2). In the other case (no. 295) eight decurions of the *equites singulares*, the Imperial bodyguard, who had wintered at Antioch on the Chrysorrhoas, otherwise *Gerasu hiera et asulos et autonomos*, set up an altar to *Deaniae Aug(ustae)*, *pro salute imperatoris . . . Hadriani*. There can be little doubt that the latter and possibly the former *titulus* belong to the year 130 or 132 A. D., when Hadrian came in person to Palestine to put down the Jewish rebellion under Bar-Cochba. As Jules Herbillon remarks regarding *Diana Augusta Laphria* of Patras, the epithet *Augusta* added to the name of the city's deity claims her care for the emperor and at the same time lends imperial dignity and prestige to the city and its deity.²¹ In this case the phrase, "Dianian Augusta," lays the emphasis on the appeal to the *genius*, or Tyche, of the emperor, rather than to the city's tutelary goddess, but, nevertheless, with a tactful inclusion of the powerful goddess whose protection the soldiers had enjoyed during the winter.

Tyche

The use of the word "Tyche" as on the coins of Gerasa is not without a kind of parallel. A long note by Dittenberger brings together numerous examples, a collection much augmented by Gruppe's *Griechische Mythologie* and by Ruhl in Roscher's *Lexikon*.²² Still others may be added. The cult of the "Tyche of the city" is first mentioned by Pindar. It was found at Athens, Rome, Thasos, Thera and elsewhere. The Tyches of the Ephesians, the Adraanians, the Medabans, and the Palmyrenes, of Nea Traiana Bostra, or of the Bostrans, of Dura, and of Tarsus, are so named on inscriptions or coins. The record from Athens which mentions the "Tyche of the city" and other inscriptions refer to perpetual or annual priestesses or priests of the "Fortune of the city," a type of cult which became widespread in the Imperial period.²³ About the middle of the second century, as the Athens

²¹ *Les cultes de Patras* ("Johns Hopkins Univ. Stud. in Arch.," 5), Baltimore, 1920, pp. 60 f.; cf. *CIL* 3, 510, and various coins.

²² Ditt., *OGI* 585, n. 2; Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. u. Religionsgesch.* (Müller's *Handbuch*, 5, 2), München, 1906, esp. pp. 1086, n. 2; 1088, n. 1; 1498 f.; L. Ruhl, art. "Tyche," in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex. d. griech. u. röm. Myth.*, 5, cols. 1309-1357.

²³ Ditt., *Syll.*, 852, 40; 856; 1155; Farnell, *Cults*, 5, p. 447 and ref. 250, pp. 481 f. (overlooked in Index); cf. Heud, *Hist. Num.*, 347, 415, 449, 510, 555, 618, 657, 659, 663, 665 (2), 686 (2), 719; *SEG* 2, 767 f.; see Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (1922-23) (Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban, Ser-

inscription relates, Appia Atilia Regilla, the (second) wife of Herodes Atticus, inaugurated the cult in the city which had once thought Athena sufficient protection.²⁴ Pausanias mentions various temples of Tyche, and inscriptions refer to a *tycheion*, or *tychaion*, in certain cities.

The cult is one of the characteristic features of religious life in the Imperial age, and "Good Fortune," as also at Gerasa, was a goddess constantly invoked. Yet neither on coins nor in inscriptions have I found a phrase exactly parallel to that on Gerasene coins, "Artemis Tyche of the Gerasenes." The nearest analogue is a coin of Laodicea which has on the reverse the inscription, "Aug(usta) Domna Tyche of the Metropolis."²⁵ This is another version of the Latin dedication of Gerasa, "to Dianian Augusta," and not strictly a parallel to the Greek phrase on Gerasene coins. Another analogue is the identification of Isis and Tyche and the use of the name "Isityche," a form found in both Latin and Greek inscriptions,²⁶ but not explicitly or implicitly used of the Tyche of a city. In spite of the universal theocracy of the age, the common practice was to make Tyche a separate and independent goddess, and indeed often to make her supreme above all the gods, for her commands were final and irrevocable. Her popularity was partly a worship of "Success."²⁷ However, out of a belief common to the Greeks and other peoples that each individual had his own Tyche, "Fate," or guardian deity, came the belief that each city also had its special Tyche, a goddess independent of all others.

vice des Antiquités et des Beaux-Arts, Bibliothèque archéol. et hist., 9), Paris: Genthner, 1926, pp. 97, 363 f. It is more than probable that oriental influences were at work in this development. Gad, or Fortune, as a city or tribal goddess was common in the Orient; see *CIS* 2. 3. 3927, 3976; cf. S. H. Langdon, *The Mythology of All Races*, 5, *Semitic* (edd. MacCulloch and Moore), Boston, 1931, pp. 19-25; J. G. Février, *La religion des Palmyréniens*, Paris, 1931, pp. 38-40; Cumont, *Études Syriennes*, Paris, 1917, pp. 263-76; Pauly-Wissowa, art. "Gad"; Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéol. orient.*, 3, pp. 75-82; Cheyne, art. "Fortune," *Enc. Bibl.* No evidences indicate that Artemis of Gerasa replaces a Semitic Gad, and in view of the fact that the Semitic deity was male, the conclusion should probably be negative. Yet the importance of Artemis as the Tyche of the city was no doubt due in part to tendencies of the time which were strengthened by the impact of the Orient.

²⁴ Ἀππίαν Ἀτειλία[ν Ῥή]-γίλλαν, Κλ. Ἡρώδου / τοῦ ἀρχιερέως γυναι-/κα, ἱερασαμένην πρῶ-/την τῆς Τύχης τῆς / πόλεως, κατὰ τὸ ἐπε-/ρώτημα τῶν κρατίσ-/των Ἀρεοπαγετῶν / οἱ ἐν ἱερασί πραγματευταί / οἱ περὶ Βα(λέριον) Ἀγαθόποδα Μελίτια; Ditt., *Syll.*, 856.

²⁵ Hill, *GCBM Pal.*, p. lxv, correcting de Saulcy, *Num. de la Terre Sainte*, p. 282. Cf. Farnell, above, n. 23.

²⁶ Gruppe, *op. cit.*, p. 1095, n. 1; *CIG* 6005; Ditt., *Syll.*, 1133; *CIL* 14, 2807. Cf. F. Cumont, *Relig. orient.*, ed. 4, Genthner, Paris, 1929, p. 106 and n. 69, p. 291 and pl. V, 2.

²⁷ Gruppe, *op. cit.*, p. 1498 f.

In two Ephesian inscriptions the goddess Artemis and other deities are pointedly differentiated from the "Tyche of the city," or "of the Gerousia."²⁸ Nowhere do I find Artemis Ephesia called the Tyche of Ephesus. Artemis of Gerasa holds an unusual, even if it be unsafe, on negative evidence, to say an unique, position.

How did it come about that Artemis, virgin goddess of the wilds, was chosen as the Tyche of Gerasa and given this peculiar title? How did it come about that she appears at all at Gerasa and above all that she was given the central place in the city's pantheon and grandiose architectural scheme? These questions can be answered, if at all, only after a glance at her other epithets.

Kyria

The title *Kyria* raises numerous and difficult problems. It involves the entire history of the evolution of religion in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. Materials on the subject are superabundant, for, because of the use of *κύριος* in the Septuagint for Yahweh and its application as a cult title to Christ in the New Testament, it has been exhaustively discussed by theologians and exegetes, recently with a consideration of non-Christian linguistic usage and religious evolution.²⁹ From the philological side the materials have been

²⁸ *IBL* 3, 596 a: [Ἀρτέμιδι] ἐπηκόῳ καὶ καὶ τῇ Τύχῃ τῆς πόλ[εως]; 587 b: εὐχαριστῶ [τ]ῇ θεῇ καὶ τῇ Κυρίᾳ Σωτ[ερ]ίᾳ καὶ τῇ Τύχῃ τῆς γερουσίας. Farnell, *Culte*, 2, p. 470, says that Hera and Isis were identified with the Τύχαι of various cities, but I cannot find his evidence. Perhaps he means their use as coin types. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, pp. xliii, 97 f., assumes that Artemis was the Tyche of Dura. Certainly Artemis was one of the chief goddesses of the city. Moreover, a statue of a Tyche holding a cornucopia in one hand was found in or near the temple of Artemis. But nowhere is Artemis called the Tyche of Dura. Rather the opposite is implied by the fact that inscriptions which contain the words Τύχῃ Δούρας have been found, not in the sanctuary of Artemis, but at the gate of the city; Baur-Rostovtzeff, *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Second Season, 1928*, New Haven, 1931, pp. 126 ff., nos. D 41 and 42; Cumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 363 f., no. 8 d. Moreover, the excavations of the third season have shown that Artemis was not identified with Atargatis, but that the two deities had entirely separate, although contiguous, temples. Probably, therefore, Artemis was not identified with Nanaia, as Cumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-9, supposed. The Nannia inscription may have come from the Atargatis temple; see Baur-Rostovtzeff-Bellinger, *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Third Season, 1929-30*, New Haven, 1932, pp. 4-8, 21 f. See now Baur's remarks in *id.*, *Fourth Season, 1930-31*, New Haven, 1933, p. 237.

²⁹ A. Delssmann, *Licht vom Osten*, ed. 4, Tübingen, 1923, pp. 298-311. E. T., rev. ed., 1927, 349-57; on *κύρια*, pp. 87 f., 300, E. T., pp. 109, 351 f.; Moulton-Milligan, *Voc. of the Greek N. T.*, s. vv. *κύρια*, *κύριος*; W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, Göttingen, 1913, pp. 108-18; Wolf Wilhelm Graf Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottname*, ed. by O. Eissfeldt,

collected best by Drexler.³⁰ Into this wide-ranging discussion this study cannot enter. But some items from it are valuable in the attempt to interpret the epithet as applied to Artemis.

The title *κύριος* is often used of numerous gods, Amun, Anubis, Apollo, Asclepius, Dionysus, the Dioscuri, Hermes, Cronus, Marnas, Osiris, Pan, Pluto, Sabazius, Sarapis, and Zeus, and *κυρία* of various goddesses, Artemis, Atargatis, Athena, Echo (at Caesarea Philippi), Hecate, Isis, Nemesis, the Nymphs, and Sôphrosynê, not to mention local deities of lesser rank, especially in Egypt. If the old *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* may be taken as offering a representative, if far from complete, collection, the title belongs to Isis far more than to any other goddess, for some thirty examples are noted of *Κυρία Ἴσις*, while to Nemesis the title is applied but four times and to Artemis but three, and to no other so often. Two of the three applications to Artemis come from the cult of "the Lady Artemis" at Laodicea *ad mare* (Lâdhîqîyeh) and one from Tibur in Latium.³¹ The three examples in *CIG* are far from including all the applications of the title to Artemis. On Ephesian dedications there is an often recurring formula, "I thank thee, Lady Artemis,"³² and "the Lady Artemis" is so called in other Ephesian inscriptions.³³ A Roman inscription mentions "the 'lordly' and beneficent goddess, hearer of prayer, virgin Ephesian Artemis."³⁴ From Tell el-Ash'arî, south of Sheikh Sa'ad, famous for its "Job-stone," comes a mention of the Lady Artenuis which led Clermont-Ganneau to identify the place with Ashtaroth Qarnaim, on the ground that Artemis was to be identified with Astarte, not a sufficient argument, as George Adam Smith pointed out.³⁵ Yet the worship of Artemis at this city is to be remembered as a parallel to that at Gerasa. At Mytilene in Lesbos some votive offering was made "by command of the Lady Artemis."³⁶

4 vols., Giessen, 1929, see esp. 2, pp. 257-301, and add. in vol. 4; Werner Foerster, *Herr ist Jesus* ("Nt. Forschungen," ed. Schmitz, Ser. 2, no. 1), Gütersloh, 1924, esp. pp. 57-118.

³⁰ In Roscher, arts. "Kyria," "Kyrios"; cf. also Williger, s. v., "Kyrios," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*

³¹ *CIG* 4470: *Σωσιπάτταν... ἱερασμένη[η]ν/ τ[ῆ]ς Κυρίας Ἀρτέμιδος*; 4471 = Ditt., *OGI* 263: *Ἰουλιαν... ἱερ[α]σαμένη[ην] ... τῆς Κυρία[ς] Ἀρτέμιδος*; both from Laodicea, in the years 115 and 116 A. D.; 5942: *τῇ Κυρίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι εὐχὴν ἐποίησεν...*, from Tibur in Italy.

³² *Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, Κυρία Ἀρτεμι;* *IRM* 3, 580, 586 a, 588 b, 590; *SEG* 4, 535.

³³ *Oesterr. Arch. Inst., Forschungen in Ephesus* 2 (1912), no. 27, pp. 127-47, ll. 112, 363.

³⁴ Kallbel, *IGSI* 904: *τὴν κυρίαν καὶ εὐεργέτιν θεὰν ἐπήκοον παρθένον [Ἀρτεμ]ιν Ἐφε[σίαν]*.

³⁵ *QS* 1901, pp. 354 f.; 1902, pp. 23 f., 27 f.

³⁶ *SEG* 3, 691: *κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τῆς Κυρίας Ἀρτέμιδος*.

It will be noted that in these examples the article is omitted only in the Ephesian examples in which the goddess is directly addressed. In the other cases, with one exception, the epithet is properly a title, but is always accompanied by the article. The one exception, the Roman inscription mentioned above, uses *κυρία*, like *ἀεργέτης*, as an adjective, which I have translated "lordly," for want of a proper term in English. In none of the cases cited is the epithet used without article as in the Jerash inscriptions.

Baudissin's exhaustive discussion is much concerned with the anarthrous use of the words *κύριος* and *κυρία*, since they seem most nearly to parallel the Septuagint use of *κύριος* for Yahweh, and the Massoretic Adonai. He reaches the conclusion that the use of these words arose on Syrian territory to serve as substitutes for *ādōn* and *rabbat*. They do not represent *ba'al* and *ba'adat*, which are always used with a genitive of the persons or area ruled. They are not used of the heads of a group or community, nor do they suggest rulership over other gods, or over persons, or over the world in general, but they represent a sense of *ādōn* and *rabbat* which is best understood as the complement of *δοῦλος*, "slave." They express a personal relationship of the individual worshipper to his lord and master, or lady and mistress. While in all periods the Greek words were used in the sense of "master," "mistress," "owner," or "ruler," and were early applied in that sense to kings and princes, they did not at the first have any connotation of divinity where so applied, but eventually, probably in the first century A. D., when *κύριος* is used of Nero, possibly a little earlier, they came to be so understood by a reflection of their previous use as titles for the gods. One reason given for the last conclusion is that, while the anarthrous use of the word both as a royal and as a divine title could arise independently, such a use of the word as a divine title is to be discovered in some abundance before the anarthrous use of the word as a royal title is known. The earliest anarthrous use of *κύριος* of a ruler as "lord" is in the Greek of the Rosetta stone, where it represents the Egyptian *nb*, a common royal title. According to Baudissin, then, *κύριος* as a royal title may be supposed to have arisen in Egypt, as a divine title in Syria. Its appearance in the Septuagint in translation of Yahweh points to its use as a divine title in Syria at least as early as the third century B. C., although epigraphic evidence for such a use is not to be found before the middle, or possibly the beginning of the first century B. C., and then in Egypt.³⁷ In view of the Egyptian origin of the Septuagint, the early use of *κύριος* and *κυρία* as divine titles in Egypt,³⁸ and for other reasons, Baudissin's arguments as to the exclusive Syrian origin of the use of the

³⁷ At Philae. *CIG* 4807 (99-90 B. C.). Ditt., *OGI* 185, 7 f. (60 B. C.); 186, 5 (62 B. C.).

³⁸ Ditt., *OGI* 184, 5; 191, 5.

word as a divine title seem very weak. Indeed, the claim appears to be given up by Eissfeldt, the editor of the posthumous work.³⁹ That disputed question does not, however, directly affect the application of Baudissin's interpretation to the Gerasene inscriptions.

The fact that *κύριος* and *κυρία* were used as respectful titles of address, equivalent to Sir, Madam, and even as terms of endearment cannot have been without influence upon their use and force as divine titles.⁴⁰ Baudissin does not appear to make enough of the familiarity implied in the use of the terms between lovers and intimate friends.⁴¹ The familiar use of *κύριε* by Epictetus, who applies it to God in address, is an excellent illustration of its use in the Koinê.⁴² Since Epictetus was of Phrygian origin, it may be argued that the usage was more oriental than occidental. One of his latest editors, Oldfather, remarks that Epictetus "conceived of his God in as vivid a fashion as the writers of the New Testament, and almost as intimately as the founder of Christianity himself."⁴³ Numerous illustrations of this use of *κύριος* in addressing the gods may be found in the magical papyri of the first three centuries.⁴⁴

Usage at Gerasa and elsewhere does not fit smoothly into Baudissin's theories, although it does not by any means entirely contradict them. He implies that the anarthrous use follows that with the article and is developed from it. On the contrary, the latest instance of *κυρία* applied to Artemis at Gerasa used the article (no. 138), in a statement from a building inscription. The other five Greek inscriptions are dedications, three of them to Θεῇ Ἀρτέμιδι and two to Ἀρτέμιδι Κυρίῃ (see fig. 3). It is worthy of note that these two Jerash examples are earlier than any other datable instances of the application of the epithet to Artemis and are certainly among the earliest instances of the anarthrous use of the title. But the distinction between the uses with and without the article appears to be in the field of grammar and style, rather than to belong to the categories of time and evolution. Such dedications,

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, 4, p. 12, n. to p. 260.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 2, pp. 296 ff., 4, pp. 14 ff. (Eissfeldt).

⁴¹ Moulton-Milligan, *Vocab. of the Greek N. T.*, s. v. "Κυρία."

⁴² Epictetus 1.29.48; 2.16.13; cf. 2.7.9; 7.12; 15.15; 3.10.15; 22.38, where *κύριε* is addressed to a physician, a fortune-teller, etc. See Baudissin, *Kyrios*, 2, pp. 280 f., 284, 298; 4, p. 13 (Eissfeldt).

⁴³ Epictetus (Loeb Clas. Lib.) 1 (London-New York, 1926), p. viii.

⁴⁴ "Great Paris Magic Papyrus," *Bibl. Nat. Suppl. Gr.* 574, l. 1433; *Greek Pap. Brit. Mus.*, vol. I, no. 121, ll. 403, 503, 985; Cairo Pap. no. 10563 in Grenfell-Hunt, *Greek Papyri* (*Cat. gén. des ant. éq. du Musée de Caire*, Oxford, 1903), p. 71, l. 12; see the convenient but unindexed collection of Karl Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1 (1928), p. 120; 2 (1931), pp. 22, 23, 43, 187, and esp. 156 f.

with the article omitted, are extremely common. They possibly carry something of the feeling of the vocative, which, as already noted, recurs in the Ephesian inscriptions. They also have a formal character to which the brevity of a lapidary style that omitted small words naturally suited itself. Grammatically they are to be placed in the category of anarthrous "headings," or titles.⁴⁵ They certainly have the force of proper names, with which Greek use of the article is notoriously irregular and even inexplicable. They may, therefore, be left without the article, whereas, in a narrative or statement of fact, such as a building inscription or record of a priesthood, the article would be employed. A similar use of anarthrous nouns in the dative, *θηγαῖσι* for example, is to be noted in funerary inscriptions.⁴⁶ It is not without significance that the constantly recurring *Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ*⁴⁷ is practically always anarthrous, and that such dedications as *Θεῷ ἱππηκόῳ* are frequent.⁴⁸ No special significance, therefore, can be attached to the absence of the article in the two Jerash dedications which use the epithet. Evidently it is a suitable substitute for the anarthrous *Θεά* of the other three. But in view of the foregoing exposition of the uses of *κύριος* and *κυρία*, the conclusion seems warranted that it expresses an intimacy which is entirely lacking in *Θεά Ἀρτέμις*. The epithet *κυρία* also recognizes a peculiar subordination of the worshipper and, since the goddess is the Tyche of the city, of the city itself. The city and the worshipper belong to her in a special sense as slaves, or at least as clients. Such a relationship is peculiarly fitting in the case of the priestesses of the goddess. It appears likewise in Ephesian inscriptions, and in dedications by Ephesians abroad who are reverencing the goddess of their own city. Something of the same sense of mutual proprietorship can be discovered in many inscriptions to other deities where these epithets are used. The fact that, up to the present time at any rate, the epithet has not been found at Jerash in connection with any other deity emphasizes its special implications regarding the cult of Artemis. *Pace* Baudissin, she is the goddess of the community. Foerster may be right when he insists that each religion filled such words with meanings of its own. There may not have been "a uniform linguistic usage of the word *κύριος* in religion." But surely the term was something more than "an almost meaningless general designation of something divine."⁴⁹

⁴⁵ J. H. Moulton, *Grammar of N. T. Greek*, 1, *Prolegomena*, ed. 3, 1908, p. 82.

⁴⁶ W. Lartfeld, *Griech. Epigraphik* (Müller, *Handbuch*), ed. 3, 1914, p. 435.

⁴⁷ In a sense the most popular goddess at Gerasa.

⁴⁸ See above and cf., e.g., Ditt., *OGI* 659, 3; 676; 704; 735; 741, 4; *SEG* 2, 700. Cf. *OGI* 455, 11.

⁴⁹ W. Foerster, *Herr ist Jesus*, p. 118: "eine inhaltsarme, allgemeine Bezeichnung von etwas Göttlichem."

The Hearer of Prayer

The epithet *ἐπίκοος*, "hearing," "listening to prayer," does not have quite the same late and oriental flavor which seems to inhere in *κύριος*, yet it was a favorite adjective in Syria. Pindar, Aristophanes, and Plato use it of the gods.⁵⁰ The exhaustive study by Weinreich⁵¹ listed 145 inscriptions in which the word is an epithet of a divinity and they include a large part of the Greek and Hellenistic pantheon. In Weinreich's list in sixteen instances the word is applied to Artemis, at Athens, Crete, Ephesus (2), Epidaurus, Gerasa, Lesbos (4), Rhodes, Rome, Samothrace, and Sophia. It is applied to Zeus eighteen times, eight of them in Palmyrene inscriptions, to Aesclepius thirteen times, to Apollo nine times, to Aphrodite seven times, to Sabazius six times, to Helios, Heracles, Nemesis, and Sarapis each three times, to Ares, Dionysos, Isis, Poseidon, and Tyche each twice. The statistics suggest something as to the character of the deities to whom the phrase was applied. If allowance be made for the racial origin of the dedicators, it will be found that the epithet belongs to Asia and Egypt rather than to Greece, but it is by no means exclusively oriental. To Artemis it is attached so often partly because she was a deity to whom supplication was made by women in childbirth.

As Weinreich shows, the ancients made special efforts to attract the attention of deities upon whom they felt unusual dependence. The ears which are depicted on many monuments or were modeled and presented as votive offerings were not appeals or thanks for the restoration of hearing, but attempts to give ears to the gods so that they might hear the worshipper's prayers.⁵² What the word meant to the ancients may be seen in such inscriptions as that which an Ascalonite set up at Delos: "To Zeus giver of fair winds, to Palestinian Astarte, to Heavenly Aphrodite, hearing gods: Damon, son of Demetrius, Ascalonite, having been saved from trials."⁵³ One of the earliest Greek inscriptions which uses the word was set up at Delos as "a thank offering to Hydreus, the hearing god" by a certain Roman, Spurius Stertinius, who set up another to the "saving Artemis," and still another, which explains his thankfulness, "to the Graces," "because he had been healed."⁵⁴

⁵⁰ *Olymp.*, 14. 15; *Thesmoph.*, 1154 ff.; *Philcb.*, 25 B; *Laies*, 931 B C D.

⁵¹ "Θεοὶ Ἐπίκοοι," *Athen. Mitteil.*, 37 (1912), pp. 1-68; cf. the brief paragraph in Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, p. 365 and ns. 7-11; cf. *SEG*, vols. 2-4, Index III, s. v. θεός; *Mon. As. Min. Ant.*, 1, p. 6, no. 8: *παραπήκοφ θεῶν*.

⁵² See also Josef Zingerle, "Akoai," *ARW* 27 (1929), pp. 53-6.

⁵³ Διὶ Οὐρίῳ καὶ Ἀστέαρχῃ Παλαιστίνῃ: Ἀφροδίτῃ Οὐρανίᾳ, θεοῖς ἐπηκόοις Δάμων Δημητρίου Ἀσκαλωνίτης σωθεὶς ἀπὸ πειρατῶν, Clermont-Gameau, *CR* 1909, p. 308 f.; Weinreich, *op. cit.*, p. 24, no. 134.

⁵⁴ *Ditt., Syll.*, 1137 and refs. in n. 1.

Even more explicitly the connotations of the word are brought out by numerous Palmyrene and Phoenician inscriptions. The votive inscriptions contain a variety of phrases using much the same words to express the idea that the dedicators set up the inscription to the god "because he heard their voice," and often add, "and blessed them."⁵⁵ A numerous group of Palmyrene inscriptions has variants of the formula, "because I cried unto him and he heard me."⁵⁶ In the Palmyrene inscriptions, now conveniently collected in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Zeus is often called the hearing god. Strangely enough, the inscriptions which carry the Greek formula, "To Zeus the Most High and the Hearer," all have as their Palmyrene parallel, not the equivalent phrase just mentioned, but "to him whose name is blessed forever," often with the addition, "who is kind and merciful."⁵⁷ Evidently the connotations of the word went far beyond mere "hearing."

The idea is too natural to men of religious temperament for it to cause surprise or require elaborate comment. It could easily arise independently in various ages and lands, and it is likely to be recorded whenever the true feelings of the worshipper are allowed to come to written expression. It appears in the Thebaid among the poor stonecutters of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. A hymn calls Amon-Re, Lord of Karnak, "the august god who hears prayer, who comes at the voice of the distressed humble one." Another describes him as the one "who hears the prayers of him who is in captivity."⁵⁸ It is a familiar, recurring refrain in the Hebrew Psalms. It is not surprising that it is found throughout the Hellenistic world in a period when it became possible for people of moderate means and inferior social station to record on stone their hopes and fears before the gods. Artemis of Gerasa is one of the deities to whom especially the epithet belongs, as the numerous instances of its use with her name indicate.

Ancestral Goddess

The epithet *πατρώος*, "ancestral," also seems to belong to the Orient more than to the Occident. But it is by no means un-Greek, as is witnessed by its

⁵⁵ M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, I, pp. 155 f.

⁵⁶ *CIS* 2, 3, nos. 4046, 4048, 4051, 4053, *et pass.*, 4100.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, 3902-4031; 4066.

⁵⁸ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 3 (1916), p. 83; Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 347; cf. McCown, *Genesis of the Social Gospel*, New York, 1920, p. 252. Resheph is the "great god hearing prayer." Cook, *Relig. of Anc. Palest.*, London, 1930, p. 115. "Ἐνῆκοος, erhörend, wird geradezu ein Titel der Gottheit," P. Stengel, *Griech. Kultusaltertümer* (Müller, *Handbuch*, 5, 3) ed. 3, 1920, p. 79.

constant appearance in the best Greek writers from Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Plato on and in inscriptions.⁶⁰ As a cult epithet it is far from purely oriental. It is used, especially at Athens of Apollo, and also of Dionysus and Zeus.⁶¹ Its earliest appearance in an inscription is in Chios in the fourth century.⁶² It is found in Asia Minor, Syria, and especially at Palmyra.⁶³ It is carried in the train of Jupiter Dolichenus to Rome where Latin inscriptions mention *deus paternus Commagenorum*.⁶⁴ The Hebrews were fond of the idea. The "God of the fathers" appears often in the Bible, but the word *πατῆρ*, or its practical equivalent, *πάτριος*, occurs rarely in the Septuagint and Josephus, in spite of the fact that the idea is so common in the Old Testament.⁶⁵

It may be due to accident or oversight that in inscriptions I have discovered *πατρία* but rarely as epithet of a goddess. One unquestioned occurrence, a dedication *Ἑστία πατρία*,⁶⁶ "to the ancestral Hearth," is so natural and so combines object and personification as to constitute no real parallel. From Mushennef in Syria Prentice reports a reference to "the house of Zeus and ancestral (*πατρία*) Athena."⁶⁷ "Our ancestral (*πάτριος*) deity Artemis" is recorded at Ephesus.⁶⁸ Weinreich records an instance of *Ἀρτεμις πατρία* at Sophia, but since only the last two letters of Artemis and the first two of

⁶⁰ See Farnell, *Culte*, Index, s. vv. Apollo, Dionysos, Zeus; Ditt., *Syll.*, 773, 5: *Ἐρμης πατῆρ* (Athens); cf. Roscher, arts. "Patrioi theoi" (Höfer), "Patrioi theoi" (Illberg).

⁶¹ Farnell, *Culte*, 4, 54, 152-61; 5, 92; 1, 52; cf. H. Bolkestein, *Theophrastos' Charakter der Deisdaimonia* (Religionsgesch. Vers. u. Vorarb., 21, 2), Giessen, 1929, pp. 46-51.

⁶² Ditt., *Syll.*, 987, 35: τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ πατρίου.

⁶³ *CIG* Add. 4269 c, 5952, 4609; *SEG* 1, 508 (= *CIG* 4456), 546; *OGI* 194, 6; 479; 654, 8 (Egypt); Prentice, nos. 100-7; 241 f.; 380; 416; 427; Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, 76-80 ("the family gods of the dedicators," p. 126), 84-89, 95-98.

⁶⁴ *CIL* 3, 6225, 7835, cf. 7834; 10243; J. Toutain, *Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, 1. 2 (1911), (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences religieuses*, 25), p. 36.

⁶⁵ Only 4 Macc., 12, 18: ἐπικαλοῦμαι δὲ τὸν πατῆρα θεόν; Is., 8, 21: κακῶς εἰπείτε τὸν ἀρχοντα καὶ τὰ πάτρια (for יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ); Josephus, *Ant.*, 9, 256 (12, 3): τὸν πατῆρα καὶ ἀληθῶς θεόν.

⁶⁶ *CIG* 5952; cf. ἐπὶ τὰν πάτριαν ἑστίαν, Ditt., *Syll.*, 558, 20, and ἑστία πατρία, Philo, ed. Cohn-Wendland, 3, p. 7, l. 21.

⁶⁷ No. 380.

⁶⁸ *Forsch.* in *Eph.*, 2 (1912), pp. 125 f., no. 26, l. 17: ἡ πάτριος ἡμῶν θεὸς Ἀρτεμις, Picard, *Ephèse et Clarté*, p. 367, speaks as if *πατῆρ* were also applied to her, but I have not discovered the evidence. H. Bolkestein, *Theophrastos' Charakter der Deisdaimonia*, p. 46, says that the *θεοὶ πατῆρ*, in contrast to the *θεοὶ πάτριος*, were worshipped in the private cults.

πατρώα actually appear on the stone, the inscription has little evidential value.⁶⁸ Pausanias, however, reports an inartistically made pillar statue of "Αρτεμις πατρώα at Sicyon. "Inartistically made" signifies, perhaps, that it was in antique style, and this may account for the epithet "ancestral."⁶⁹ More to the point is the fact that two Laconian inscriptions, one from Amyclae and the other from Pleiae, mention "Αρτεμις πατριώτις. "Artemis belonging to the country."⁷⁰ This epithet may have special significance in connection with the epithet "Laconian" which seems to be attached to Artemis in an inscription to be discussed below. There is some significance in the fact that Artemis almost monopolizes the few instances of the use of the epithet πατρώα.

The word has more than one possible meaning. It may, of course, as it frequently does, mean that which the fathers used, or created, or handed down. For the Greeks it was used of the gods in the sense of physical ancestry. The population, or at least the chief families, of various communities traced their ancestry back to certain gods. Plato puts the common belief bluntly when he says that the Ionians spoke of "ancestral Apollo because of the origin of Ion."⁷¹ That the Semites held the same belief is generally accepted since Robertson Smith's advocacy of the idea,⁷² although denied by some in respect to the Hebrews.⁷³

Alt's new interpretation of the phrase, "the god of our fathers," as the god who appeared to the fathers and was proclaimed by them, based as it is largely upon inscriptional evidence from Syria, especially the Hauran and the Læjah, is certainly to be considered as a possibility for Gerasa.⁷⁴ From these regions and Palmyra he brings together numerous inscriptions, both Greek and Semitic, in which the god of a certain person, for example, the "god of Anur," "the god of Aum," is revered by him or his descendants, and in some cases by a wider circle. They are gods of Bedouins who are becoming settled agri-

⁶⁸ Quoted by Wehrreich, *Athen. Mitteil.*, 37 (1912), p. 8, no. 27: Κυρία Ἀρτέμις τῇ πατρῷα καὶ ἐπιτηκῶν.

⁶⁹ PAUS., 2. 9. 6: "Αρτεμις ὀνομαζομένη Πατρώα, οὐκ τέχνη πεποιημένη οὐδὲ μὲν . . . κλονι . . . εἰκασμένη.

⁷⁰ Wernicke in Panly-Wissowa, 2, col. 1396 from Ἐφῆμ. Ἀρχ., 1892, col. 24: CIG 1444; also IG 5, 602, 11; 559, 19.

⁷¹ *Euthyd.*, 302 C, D.

⁷² W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, ed. 3, ed. S. A. Cook, pp. 41-60 and 513-16 (Cook); D. Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarab. Altertumskunde*, 1, *Die altarab. Kultur*, Kopenhagen, 1927, p. 236.

⁷³ M.-J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions Sémitiques*, Paris, 1905, p. 110 f.

⁷⁴ *Der Gott der Väter* ("Beiträge z. Wissensch. v. A. u. N. T.," ed. Kittel, 3, 12). Stuttgart, 1920.

culturists, as were the Hebrew patriarchs.⁷⁵ They are gods of immigrants, as were the Greeks of Gerasa. That they were ever regarded as ancestors of their worshippers is not directly implied, although there is nothing in the inscriptions to forbid such an assumption. So far as Gerasa is concerned, there is no direct evidence in support of either view. No inscription has come to light which can be interpreted as a parallel to the cases Alt cites.

The evidence from Palmyra can be regarded as in part favorable to Alt's hypothesis. A Palmyrene inscription in honor of a member of the Beni Migdath is dedicated to "Shamash, god of their father's house."⁷⁶ How the Palmyrenes would have rendered that into Greek we do not know. Unfortunately for the linguist, in the Palmyrene bilinguals the Greek is usually not a strict translation of the Palmyrene text, and that is true for all the inscriptions in which *πατρώος* and *πάτριος* occur. In an inscription set up by a Palmyrene at Rome the Greek *πατρώοις θεοῖς* has nothing whatever to correspond to it in the Palmyrene text.⁷⁷ In one Palmyrene bilingual the Greek phrase, *τοῖς πατρώοις θεοῖς* is represented merely by *לאלהיהן* "to their gods."⁷⁸ But in one well known inscription, "to Malachbêl and the Tyche of Thaimai and Atargatis, ancestral gods," the Palmyrene runs, "to Malakbêl and the Gad of Thaimai and to 'Atar'ateh, good gods."⁷⁹ Whether *Gad Thaimai* is the Tyche of a person or a tribe, he or she is doubtless an "ancestral deity." Yet the Palmyrene text does not recognize this fact, but gives an apparently irrelevant translation, which, however, may well reveal the meaning which *πατρώος* actually conveyed. They were gods which could be depended upon to be kindly disposed toward the worshippers who were bound to them by ancestral ties. But this does not necessarily imply physical descent from the deity. They could hardly have claimed that Atargatis was in any sense the goddess of their clan only. It is barely possible that they would have placed her at the beginning of their genealogy. In what sense, then, the Palmyrenes thought of their deities as "ancestral" does not clearly appear. Certainly there is nothing in their inscriptions that emphasizes the idea of physical paternity, but rather the thought that the "gods of their fathers" could be

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 47 f. The inscriptions are given on pp. 74-83. Three of them call the gods *πατρώοι*; no. 25 = *CIG* 4480 = *CIS* 2. 3. 3027; no. 31 = *CIG* 4464, 9899; no. 44 = Ditt., *OGI* 637.

⁷⁶ *CIS* 2. 3. 3978 = Cooke, *North Semitic Inscr.*, 136: *לאלהיהן שמש*. In no. 3979 Shamash is called "the good god," *אלה שמש*.

⁷⁷ *CIS* 2. 3. 3902 = *CIG* 6015 = Kaibel, *IGSI* 971.

⁷⁸ *CIS* 2. 3. 3930 = *CIG* 4470.

⁷⁹ *CIS* 3027 (n. 75 above): *[Μα]λαχβήλω καὶ Τύχη Θαιμαῖος καὶ [Ἀτε]ργάτει, πατρώοις θεοῖς* = *לאלהיהן שמש ואלהיהן תיחא תאמאי*.

expected to be also ἐπηκούε, attentive and favorably inclined. The two epithets are not infrequently combined.⁸⁰

In all the various instances of its use, the epithet "ancestral" is almost without exception applied to gods whose names belong to the country in which the inscription is found or to the race of the dedicators. The "ancestral deities" in Palmyra have Aramaic names. The same is true in Syria, except that in many instances the chief male deity is identified with Zeus.⁸¹ The god of Vaseath of 'Atil is the "ancestral Theandrios," whom Marinus calls "Thyandrites, another god highly honored by the Arabs."⁸² At Damascus is an inscription, which in good Semitic style gives the deity no name, "to the ancestral heavenly god, the Lord."⁸³ In western Asia Minor and in Greece the ancestral gods have Greek names.⁸⁴

On the basis of the evidence thus far presented no certain conclusion seems justified. That the Gerasene dedicator, Alexander, son of Apollas, and grandson of Alexander, thought of the goddess Artemis as his ancestress seems extremely doubtful. To be sure, if he was a Semite and she was only a Semitic goddess clothed with a Greek name, this would be more probable. But in view of the last epithet to be discussed, it seems more likely that she had been imported bodily from Greece.

The "Laconian" Goddess

The epithet Λάκωνα is puzzling. It is a little too long for the space which appears to be available. Yet no other word has been suggested which fits so well the requirements of space and sense in the fragmentary inscription of Flavius Kersilochos (no. 4; see fig. in text). Neither Gruppe nor Farnell reports the discovery of such an epithet, nor have I succeeded in finding it applied to Artemis or any other god or goddess either in inscriptions or literary works. To be sure, it is not logical to argue that, because a thing has not happened twice, it cannot happen once. Professor Ivan Linforth suggested to me that the fame of Artemis Orthia of Sparta was sufficient to account for the epithet. Pausanias devoted no little space to the goddess and the bloody

⁸⁰ *SEG* 4, 164, 8; *CIS* 2. 3. 3979: [Σ]ΑΝ ΚΑΤΑΝ ΠΑΤΡΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΗΚΟΥΕ ΘΕΩ; see n. 68 above.

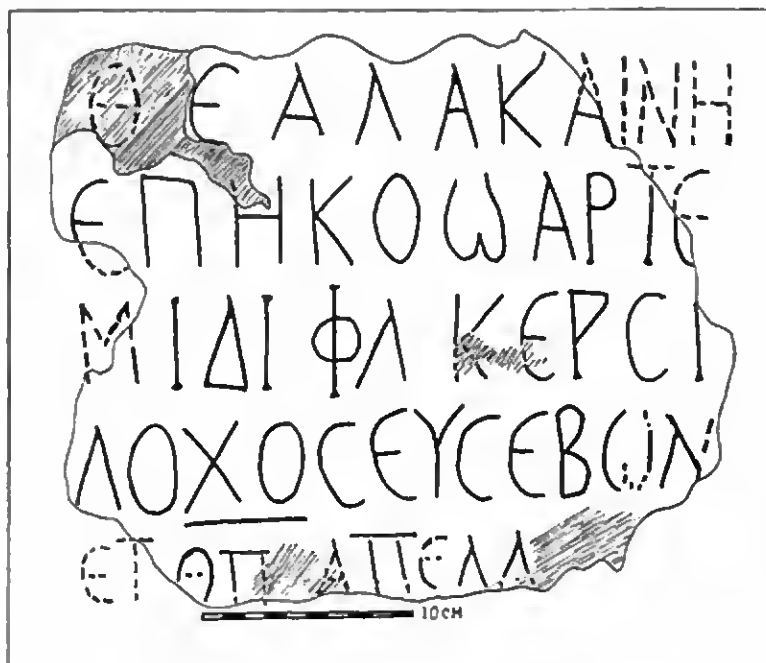
⁸¹ Cf. Prentice, *nos.* 100-7.

⁸² *CIG* 4609 = Alt, no. 49; Marinus, *Vita Procli*, p. 16, ed. Boiss.

⁸³ *SEG* 1. 546.

⁸⁴ Especially Apollo, n. 71 above. But note the gods carried abroad. Palmyrene gods in Rome, *CIS* 2. 3. 3902-4; = Kaibel, *IGSI* 971 f.; v. Gaertringen et al., "Syrische Gottheiten auf einem Altar aus Cordova," *AEW* 22 (1923-4), pp. 117-32, = *SEG* 4. 164.

legend of her temple, and other writers refer to her.²² Though Artemis was best known at Sparta, she was also found elsewhere.²³ However, the character of the Laconian goddess would hardly recommend her as the Tyche of a city, and her fame was hardly widespread enough to have reached a city so remote as Jerash, leaving no intermediate traces of its long journey, unless some unusual circumstance had been at work. Was she perhaps an importation from Sparta?



Inscription No. 4, drawn to scale from squeeze.
Dotted lines indicate restorations.

The Ancestry of the Gerasene Artemis

The final question, then, is, What was the ancestry of Artemis of Gerasa? Was it Greek (that is, possibly, Spartan) or indigenous? There are several factors to be taken into consideration. One in favor of a Semitic origin is the uncertainty of two crucial texts. In the first (no. 4) the epithet *Λάκαινα* [Lakaina], although apparently clear, is not above the possibility of some other, as yet unsuspected, restoration. In the second (no. 201) the name of the goddess is

²² Paus., 3. 10. 7-11; see references in Farnell, *Culta*, 2, p. 571.

²³ Farnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 571 f.

uncertain. If "Good Fortune" had only left a *tau* after the *alpha-rho*, it would be much more certain that the "ancestral goddess" was of Greek origin. If the third letter were an *alpha*, there would be little doubt that the Artemis of the beautiful Corinthian temple is only an alias for Astarte or Atargatis. A second consideration is the fact that the epithet *ἐπήκοος* is found in another inscription (no. 71) applied to the "Arabian god," Θεῷ Ἀραβικῷ ἐπήκοῳ, and both *ἐπήκοος* and *πατρώος*, though not exclusively oriental, are favorite Greek epithets of Semitic deities. A third possible argument is the discovery of altars or inscriptions to Θεῷ Οὐρανίᾳ, the unnamed "Heavenly goddess" of the Arabs, who might be thought to be identical with Artemis, a question to be discussed later. A fourth consideration is the *a priori* probability that the chief goddess of a city on the edge of the Arabian desert would be fundamentally and originally Semitic, and only superficially Greek.

On the other side are arguments which appear to me stronger. Entirely apart from any thought of the problem now under discussion, the epigraphic evidence for Αἰκάνα and Ἀρτέμις in the two uncertain inscriptions has been deemed sufficient. The two epithets put together are strong proof that the founders of the cult of Artemis at Gerasa were immigrants who brought their goddess with them from Greece. The evidence in general favors a decided preponderance of the Greek element at Gerasa. The name of only one Semitic deity, Pakeidā, has been found, and he has Hera for his consort.⁸⁸ There are only two dedications to the "Arabian god" and two to the "Heavenly goddess." Identifications of Greek gods with those of an indigenous Semitic population, as so often is the case in Syria and likewise with Anatolian gods in Asia Minor, are entirely absent. One has but to compare the inscriptions of Palmyra or Bostra with those of Gerasa to sense a world of difference in all of these matters.

The names of the dedicators may be expected to give some hint as to the origin of the goddess. The earliest inscription (no. 5) gives no assistance since it was set up by nameless "worshippers." The altar of 98 A. D. (no. 3) names Diogenes, son of Leonidas, apparently a man of solid Greek ancestry. But as an afterthought he set his name down again with that of his grandfather, who proves to be a Semite with the well known and widely popular name, Malchos, which suggests the worship of the famous Moabite deity, Melek-Moloch. Another rectangular altar (no. 2) was dedicated by a man named Demetrins, son of Aristion, and a woman whose name is lost but ends in *-oras*, and who gave her son the good Greek name of Artemidorns.

The inscription (no. 201) which bears the dedication to the "ancestral goddess Artemis," was set up by Alexander, son of Apollas, grandson of Alex-

⁸⁸ See n. 110.

ander. That to the Laconian goddess (no. 4) is by Flavius Kersilochos. This man with an unusual cognomen belongs, as another inscription (no. 65) shows, to a family which was prominent in Gerasa for several generations.⁸⁷ The data are not sufficient to make out their dates or their genealogy with certainty. Evidently the founder received Roman citizenship under the Flavian emperors, perhaps in the time of the Jewish war. In the case of Roman citizens, the names can be little trusted as indications of the racial origin of the family. One member bears the cognomen *Gerrhenus*, which Jones suggests may come from the Syrian city *Gerrha*. That by no means, however, determines the origin of the family, for he belongs at least to the second generation of the Roman citizens mentioned on the inscriptions. The name of the latest dedicator, Flavius Munatius (no. 138), the centurion prominent in municipal affairs in the third century, also tells nothing as to his race, nor does that of Flavius Apollinaris the soldier (no. 104), nor those of the eight centurions of Hadrian's bodyguard (no. 295). The number of members of the Flavian *gens* who appear is striking. In brief, the names of the dedicators and their forebears are Greek or Latin with the single exception of one grandfather. They suggest, but do not positively guarantee, that their bearers were of the races represented by their names. It seems hardly possible that, if Artemis were only a rechristened Semitic goddess, more names of Semitic cast would not have appeared in the list.

Other Goddesses

The place of Artemis in the Gerasene cult is emphasized by the paucity of inscriptions to other goddesses. In the materials now at hand only six other goddesses appear, Urania, Hera, Nemesis, Dikaïosynē, Isis, and a Neōtera. From Herodotus, whom Origen and Arrian follow, it would be assumed that the chief goddess should have been called the "Heavenly Goddess," Urania, for he implies that the Arabs had only two deities, Orotal and Alilat, whom he identifies with Dionysus and Urania.⁸⁸ No part of the statement applies to Gerasa, for neither Orotal nor Alilat has been found, and the "Arabian god," to whom two dedications have been uncovered, and Urania, with the same number, are anything but chief deities. Pakcidā, to be discussed elsewhere, a deity who possessed his own temple and priest and had Hera for his consort, is the only deity with a Semitic name. He likewise, up to date, has only two inscriptions.

⁸⁷ Jerash inscriptions nos. 4, 65, 114 (the longest inscription yet found), 164, 184. Cf. Jones, *JRS* 18, p. 155, 20, p. 47.

⁸⁸ Herod., 3. 8; Origen, *contra Cels.*, 5. 37.

Urania

Both the dedications to Urania are late. An altar (no. 205) was set up by Marcus Ulpius Tihereinus in the year 160-161 A. D. to "Goddess Urania," with perhaps some additional epithets, which most unfortunately are illegible.⁸⁰ It was found in débris over the monastery between the Fountain Court churches and the Artemis temenos, where there was found also an altar to Pakeidā, consort of Hera, whose temples apparently lie under the Christian churches.⁸¹ Another altar, found in a field southwest of the village (no. 132) was set up in the year 238 A. D. to "Zeus Kronos and Goddess Urania," by one of the leading men of the city, a councillor, Marcus Aurelius Solon, son of Solon, on behalf of his son Solon.⁸²

Among the Greeks Urania was one of the chief epithets of Aphrodite. Whether Plato's distinction between Aphrodite Urania and Aphrodite Pandēmos⁸³ was popularly accepted or not, both epithets are found in inscriptions as well as in literary works.⁸⁴ Pausanias has numerous references to Aphrodite Urania and occasionally uses the epithet alone, but always apparently with Aphrodite in mind. As an independent goddess, Urania belongs to the Semitic world, which so often uses epithets or descriptions instead of names for its deities, and the Greeks regarded the Heavenly Aphrodite as derived from the East. Pausanias says that her cult originated among the Assyrians and came by way of Crete and Ascalon of Palestine to Cythera, an account in which he is almost paraphrasing Herodotus.⁸⁵ In his account of the notorious marriage of Elagabalus' god with the goddess, Herodian says that the Carthaginians called her Urania, but the Phoenicians Astroarche, or the moon.⁸⁶ A little before 100 B. C. an Athenian in making a votive offering at Delos spoke of Aphrodite as "holy Syrian goddess."⁸⁷ Another Delian inscription, belonging to the earlier part of the second century B. C., speaks of her as Isis Sōteira Astarte Aphrodite.⁸⁸

⁸⁰ No. 205 (unpub.): [Ε]τους ... / Ἀγαθῇ Τῇχῃ: / ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Σε-/βαστῶν σωτη-/ρίας Θεᾷ Οὐρανίᾳ... ΑΙΚΤΙΛΛΑΘ/ΚΑΛΟΡΟΑ Μ(άρκος) Οὐλ-/πιος Τιβερεϊνός/ς. κατ' εὐχὴν. See fig. 4.

⁸¹ See *Bulletin* 49, pp. 5 f., and discussion of Hera below.

⁸² (Jones): Διὶ Κρόνῳ καὶ Θεᾷ Οὐρανίᾳ... κατ' εὐχὴν τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθηκεν.

⁸³ *Symp.*, 181 C.

⁸⁴ Farnell, *Cults*, 2, pp. 746 ff.; Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.*, p. 1363; Frazer, commentary on Paus., 1. 14. 7.

⁸⁵ Paus., 1. 14. 7; Herod., 1. 105, 131, 189.

⁸⁶ *Ab excessu Diti Marci*, 5. 4. 6.

⁸⁷ Ditt., *Syll.*, 1136: Ἀγρῆς Ἀφροδίτης Σεπίας Θεᾷ.

⁸⁸ *Op. cit.*, 1132.

Strangely enough in view of her admittedly Oriental origin, Greek inscriptions to Urania or Aphrodite Urania in Syria and Palestine are extremely rare. A Latin inscription from Carthage, on which two ears are figured so that the goddess might hear, is dedicated to *Dominæ Caelesti*.⁹⁹ In Epidaurus a dealer in purple set up a limestone altar in the fourth century B. C. with an inscription in honor "of Apollo," to which was added later "and of Urania."¹⁰⁰ Sozomen tells of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Urania at Aphaca, the modern Khirbet Afqâ, in Syria, famous for its spring of Venus and Adonis, a temple which Constantine suppressed.¹⁰¹ From the neighborhood of Smyrna come two inscriptions, one "to the Mother of the gods. . . the maiden born to Zeus of Leto, queen of the world," and the other "to Goddess Urania."¹⁰² Keil suggests that the "mother of the gods" is a Syrian goddess, to be identified with the "Heavenly Goddess" of the other inscription. The inscriptions belong to the beginning of the third century A. D.¹⁰³

In all lands inscriptions dedicated simply to "the Heavenly Goddess" seem strangely rare, but the materials regarding her cult in literary sources from various lands are comparatively full.¹⁰⁴ She is best identified with the Syrian 'Anath, whose temple at Beisân has been recently uncovered.¹⁰⁵ Often she is a warrior goddess, at other times the health giver. On a Phoenician bilingual from Larnax Lapêthos she is identified with Athena Sôteira Nikê. The Egyptians called her "the lady of heaven and mistress of the gods." She may be also the "Queen of heaven" whose worship Jeremiah opposed, most unsuccessfully, it would seem, for 'Anath is one of the deities of the Jewish community at Elephantine two centuries later. Father Vincent describes her as "distinguished by a character much more noble" than that of Kadesb, Astarte, and other Semitic mother-goddesses.¹⁰⁶

Although she is often regarded by the Greeks as a moon goddess, she never

⁹⁹ CIL 0. 77.

¹⁰⁰ Fränkel, *IGPI* 1079.

¹⁰¹ *Eccl. Hist.*, 2. 5.

¹⁰² *SEG* 4. 645 f.

¹⁰³ J. Keil in *XAPIΣMA, Festgabe z. 25-jähr. Stiftungsfest d. Vereins klass. Philologen in Wien*, Vienna, 1924, pp. 21 ff., see previous note.

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Anc. Pal.*, London, 1930, pp. 104 ff., and pl. 24.

¹⁰⁵ Allan Rowe, *Topography and History of Beth-Shan* ("Pub. Palest. Sec. Mus. Univ. Penn." 1), Philadelphia, 1930, pp. 10 f., 22 f., and pl. 50, 2; *QSR* 1927, pp. 70, 78; 1928 pp. 75 f.; Vincent in *RB* 1928, pp. 540 ff.

¹⁰⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 541. On the Canaanite goddesses see especially W. F. Albright, "The Evolution of the West-Semitic Divinity 'An-'Anat-'Attâ," *AJSL* 41 (1924-5), pp. 73-101.

seems to have been identified with Artemis, and there is no reason for making such an identification at Jerash. The only inscription which suggests it is that mentioned above from near Smyrna, and in that case there is no direct identification of the daughter of Zeus and Leto of one inscription with the "Heavenly Goddess" of the other. Neither of the Jerash inscriptions was found in connection with Artemis inscriptions. Doubtless Urania was an entirely independent goddess.

Neither of the Jerash dedications to Urania gives a suggestion that the dedicators were anything but Greek or Roman. Yet, as already noted, the apparently one-sided principle must be accepted that the names have no significance unless they are plainly Semitic. The only possible conclusion seems to be that the texts represent the adoption of the oriental 'Anath and the continuation of her worship as Urania in place of an old local cult. She was not a virgin goddess. That rôle was left to Artemis. In the one inscription she is paired with Zeus Cronus. In the faith of the third century dedicator, it would appear, Zeus Cronus was father of the gods who was before all the gods, and Urania then becomes the mother of gods and men. But the single inscription with its unusual dedication affords little ground for safe deduction.

Whether there was a separate temple for the "Heavenly Goddess" at Gerasa and, if so, where it stood cannot now be determined. The two altars were found a considerable distance apart, one outside of the city in the fields. That the other was discovered near the site of the temples of Hera and Pakeidâ suggests the possibility that there was a temple or shrine in this *insula*, or that the goddess had a place in one of the other temples which stood here, perhaps as member of a triad. Since one inscription presents her as the consort of Zeus, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Urania, the Heavenly Goddess, was another name for Hera.¹⁰⁰ Yet the altar may have been brought from some considerable distance to be re-used as building material for the monastery, in the débris of which it was found. Until further excavation can be made and especially until the difficult and expensive task of investigating the buildings which lie under the Fountain Court complex can be undertaken, no solution of these problems is likely to be reached.

Hera, Consort of Pakeidâ

It is surprising to find in Jerash the strictly Greek goddess, Hera, whose worship shows almost no connections with the East or continuations from

¹⁰⁰ A Cos inscription calls Hera *Oiparia*, *BCH* 5 (1881), pp. 220 f., Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, 82. Statius, *Thebais*, 10.913, calls Hera *Caelestis Regia*.

oriental cults. Mention of her can be found, to be sure, in all lands where Greeks went, but only infrequently, and usually outside of Greece she is merely the wife of Zeus.¹⁰⁷ She had a Heraion at Syene at the first cataract of the Nile and was identified with Sati, "mistress of Elephantine," who was a goddess of the sun or sky and of fertility.¹⁰⁸ In Syria she rarely appears. Lucian, or pseudo-Lucian, makes her the Dea Syria of Hierapolis, or Mahog, but that is merely a Greek "translation" of Atargatis.

A text found at Deir el-Qal'a in the Lebanon on an altar from the sanctuary of Bahmureod offers a striking and illuminating parallel to the single Jerash inscription which mentions Hera. The chief inscription is in Greek, but above it a Latin paraphrase of the Greek is given in a compendium constructed by using the first letter of each word of the Latin rendering. It was a dedication by a coppersmith and his apprentice "to God holy Baal and Goddess Hera and Goddess Sima and Newer Hera." The Latin runs, "to Jupiter Maximus Bahmureod and Queen Juno and Juno Sima and Heavenly Sohaemia."¹⁰⁹ Only the first two of these deities concern the present discussion, but they offer an exact parallel to the Jerash inscription.

The latter (no. 6 + 163) was placed upon a series of probably three architrave blocks, of which those at the center and right have been recovered.¹¹⁰ It was set up in the year 73-4 A. D. by a certain 'Amr, son of Ragel, who was "chief officiant of God holy Pakeidā and Hera his consort," and records a gift of 700 drachmae for "the building of the sanctuary of Goddess Hera." Pakeidā I will discuss elsewhere. As to Hera, it is enough to point out that she is here the consort of a Semitic male deity, "God holy Pakeidā," just as at Deir al-Qal'a she is *paredros* of "God holy Baal." Zeus is not mentioned in either case. Here, as there, Hera receives no Semitic name or title. She is simply "Goddess Hera."

She was chosen for the rôle doubtless simply because she was the wife of the chief male deity of the Greek pantheon. In Greek mythology Hera is not

¹⁰⁷ It is instructive to note how rarely she appears in representative collections of inscriptions, such as those of Dittenberger, as compared with Athena, Aphrodite, Artemis, and Isis. Cf. Farnell, *Cults*, 1, 179-237.

¹⁰⁸ Ditt., *OGI* 111.4; 130.7; 168.7, 11; cf. Cook, *Rel. Anc. Pal.*, pp. 144 (n. 4), 145.

¹⁰⁹ Ditt., *OGI* 590 = Lidzbarski, *Ephem.*, 2.325: Θεῷ ἁγίῳ Βάλ καὶ θεῇ Ἡρᾷ κ(α)ὶ θεῇ Σίμᾳ καὶ νεωτέρᾳ Ἡρᾷ... Ι(ο)νι Ο(πτιμο) Μ(αξιμο) Β(αλμαρεοδι) ε(τ) Ι(υνονι) Ρ(εγινᾶ) ε(τ) Ι(υνονι) Σ(ιμα) ε(τ) C(αελεσι) Σ(οχαεμια) ...

¹¹⁰ Ἱ[Αγ]αθῇ Τύχη. ἔτους ιβ': / [ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σωτηρίας Ἀ]μερος Παγίλου (sic) ἀρχιβωμιστῆς Θεοῦ ἁγίου Πακειδά καὶ Ἡρας συμ[βίου] αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τ]ῆς ἰδίας γυναικὸς (sic) εἰς τὴν κτίσιν [τῆς οἰκοδ]ομῆς λεροῦ Θεῶς Ἡρας ἡ[δωκεν] / εὐσεβέας ἐνεκεν δραχ[μᾶς] ἐπ[τακ]ωσάσαι (sic). Cf. Jones, *JRS* 20 (1930), pp. 45 ff. My readings and restorations differ slightly.

a vivid personality. In myth and literature she seems to have served chiefly as an illustration of the jealous wife. Whether she was commonly regarded as an earth goddess and a goddess of fertility is uncertain. But the rite of the *ἱερὸς γάμος*, widely practiced in Greece, was doubtless sufficiently famous to identify her with any goddess who was the consort of the chief male deity of a region or cult and to give her the proper aspect as protectress of women and patron of fertility, even though these ideas were not prominent in Greek Hera cults.

Hera is sometimes called Urania,¹¹¹ and therefore, as suggested above, it is quite within the range of possibility that the two Jerash dedications to the latter goddess are intended for the same, originally Semitic, goddess who is also called Hera. The fact that one of the altars dedicated to Urania couples her with Zeus Cronus and that the other was found not far from the probable location of the temples of Pakeidā and Hera lends a considerable verisimilitude to this hypothesis. Yet the altar to Zeus Cronos and Goddess Urania was found much closer to the great temple of Zeus at the southern side of the city. A further fortunate discovery may settle this question.

Since both inscriptions which mention Pakeidā, including the two blocks of the Hera-Pakeidā architrave, were found near the Fountain Court, there is every probability that the temples of the two deities are covered by the Christian churches which later usurped this desirable location. Mr. Crowfoot found the molded base of a podium under the center of the Marianne Basilica, and I found a similar molded base on walls that lay below and just in front of the western end of the building. They may well represent parts of the temples of Pakeidā and Hera.

Nemesis

Nemesis in Greek thought, especially in later times, was more a moral quality than a real personality. Monuments of her cult are fairly numerous.¹¹² She was occasionally identified with Artemis, or at least represented like Artemis. She was popular in Egypt, and three Delian inscriptions, besides others, identify her with Isis.¹¹³ None of the three implies an appeal to vengeance. The same is true of an interesting relief found at Dura. It shows the goddess robed and veiled at the right facing front. The dedicator, Malôchâ by name, stands at the left facing front and dropping incense on a small

¹¹¹ See above, n. 106.

¹¹² See the articles by O. Rossbach in Roscher, *Lex. d. Myth.*, 3. 1, cols. 117-66; Hans Volkmann, "Studien zum Nemesis-kult," *AKW* 26 (1928), pp. 290-321; P. Perdrizet, *BCH* 22 (1898), 599-602; 36 (1912), 248-74; 38 (1914), 89-101.

¹¹³ Cf. arts. by Volkmann and Perdrizet mentioned in n. 112; *BCH* 6 (1882), 336, 38; 337, 39. 5, and 40; cf. Ditt., *OGI* 342 and n. 3.

fluted *thyrsiaterion*. Between the two figures, on the ground at the right foot of the goddess, are her customary emblems, a griffin with its foot upon a wheel. Above the griffin, at the level of the heads of the two principal figures, is a bust of the sun, rayed and with a halo. The inscription is bilingual. The Greek is merely a dedication to "Goddess Nemesis," and the Aramaic transliterates the Greek name.¹¹⁴ A late relief from Greece records a slave's thanks for his freedom.¹¹⁵ The famous statue at Rhamnus was essentially a thank-offering for the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, who were "men of violence."¹¹⁶ As the goddess who gave victory to the deserving, Nemesis was cultivated by soldiers and gladiators.

A very different spirit is to be discovered in an Attic imprecation which threatens the offender with the "avenging justice of implacable Nemesis."¹¹⁷ An inscription found in the Haurân and now in the Institut Français at Damascus tells of a man who was "murdered for no reason" and represents him with hands raised in prayer for vengeance.¹¹⁸ Such representations would be expected in connection with monuments to Nemesis. But they are extremely rare. From her cult monuments, if such they may be called, she would seem rather to have been regarded as the providence that righteously controlled the revolutions of the wheel of human destiny. She was much like Tyche, but the idea of right replaced the element of chance.

The Jerash inscription (no. 11) is quite in keeping with this conception. It was first copied by Selah Merrill in 1875, on the second expedition of the American Palestine Exploration Society. Schumacher describes finding it in October, 1891, in a small building outside the walls to the northwest of the city. Seven columns with architraves and acanthus-leaf capitals stood facing the southwest. The inscription says that "the Nemesis and accessories and the altar were due to the testament of Demetrius, son of Apollonophanes, by the commissioners Nicomachus, son of Ausas, grandson of Nicomachus, and Amyntas, son of. . . ." Five letters of the word *aulocrator* sixteen centimeters high point to the Antouine period, as do the Corinthian capitals.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ *Excavations at Dura-Europos*, cond. by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscr. and Let., *Preliminary Report of First Season of Work, Spring 1928*, New Haven, 1929, pp. 48, 62, 65-8, pl. IV 1.

¹¹⁵ W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 234, from *CIG* iv, 6834: *ἐλευθερίας χάριστήρια τῆς Νέμεσις Ῥαμνοντιίδεν* . . .

¹¹⁶ Pausanias, I. 33. 2. Cf. *CIG* 3, p. 1186, *Add.* 4693 d.

¹¹⁷ Ditt., *Syll.*, 1176: *δίκη . . . τιμωρὸς . . . ἀπειθῆς Νέμεσις[us]*.

¹¹⁸ *Monterde in Syria*, 0 (1925), pp. 243 f.

¹¹⁹ Lucas, no. 11: *Ἡ Νέμεσις καὶ τὰ παρακείμενα καὶ ὁ βω[μός] / ἐγένετο ἐκ διαθήκης Δημητρίου Ἀπολλοφάνου[us] / διὰ ἐπιμελητῶν Νικομάχου Ἀυσα τοῦ Νικομάχου[us] / καὶ Ἀμύντου Μαλακρείου*. Cf. Schumacher, *ZDPV* 18 (1895), p. 127, fig. 3, and Buresch, *ibid.*, p. 141, no. 3. Germer-Durand, *RB* 4 (1895), p. 384, no. 24.

The name of Amyntas' father remains unexplained. Otherwise the names are Hellenistic with the exception of that of the father of the first commissioner. If Ausās is the proper reading, it stands for a good Aramaic name, Ausū. Yet there is a fair possibility that the first letter has been misread and that the name was Lysās. On a "badly weathered stone," as Sehmacher describes it, so badly weathered that he was unable to make out the name at all, there is at least grave doubt attaching to the reading of Ausās, which does not appear in any other Gerasene inscription, whereas Lysas has been found twice written in a perfectly preserved text (no. 165). No conclusion as to the nationality of the dedicator and his friends is possible.

One interesting but remote possibility is to be considered. In view of the frequency with which the name Nicomachus appears in Gerasa, it can hardly be more than a coincidence that the name of the Gerasene mathematician and Neo-Pythagorean philosopher appears on this monument, in the case of the grandfather probably in the generation in which the famous Nicomachus lived. In any case it is significant as to the current conception of Nemesis that the anonymous *Theologoumena Arithmeticae*, which was perhaps written by Iamblichus but may well be derived from Nicomachus, says, "they call the pentad Nemesis; in any case she rules (ῥέπει) not only the heavenly and divine, but also the physical elements in fitting fashion by means of the five elements."¹²⁰

The place in which the small "temple" was found is the northern necropolis of Gerasa, near the road to Sûf, 'Ajlûn, and Tabghat il-Fâhil (Pella), and that to Damascus. The building would seem, therefore, to have been a mausoleum or a chapel-tomb, not a true temple. Gerasene temples are oriented eastward. The inscription may imply a plea to Nemesis for justice on the part of one who had suffered some wrong. It is much more probable that it is a recognition of the part divine providence had played in the life of the testator. Since soldiers and gladiators were especially given to dedications to Nemesis, the chances are that Demetrius, son of Apollonphanes, was a member of one or the other of these classes, unless, perchance, he was a Neo-Pythagorean. No special cult of Nemesis at Gerasa, however, can be presupposed.

The inscription means that either a relief, or, more probably, a statue had been set up with an altar before it. The "accessories" were whatever in the way of bases and other constructions and decorations or equipment were necessary to put it properly in place and prepare for funerary offerings. The Greek

¹²⁰ *Theologoumena Arithmeticae*, ed. Fr. Ast, Leipzig, 1817, p. 31. In his summary of Nicomachus' *Theologoumena*, Photius (*Bibliotheca*, ed. Bekker, 1824, p. 144) brings the pentad and Nemesis into connection.

word *παράκειμενα*, "things present," might, of course, include the building itself, but it seems more reasonable to suppose that the building inscription is represented by the five great letters of the word *autokratōr* and that the word is here to be taken in the sense of less important "appurtenances." Investigation would doubtless discover remains of the building, for architectural fragments are to be seen in the field north of the North Gate.

Dikaiosynē

Another goddess-personification, *Dikaiosynē*, "Righteousness," like *Nemesis*, appears only to disappear, in an inscription which otherwise adds several interesting items to the available information regarding Gerasene economic, political, and religious life. In the year 119-20 A. D., *Diogenes*, son of *Emmeganes*, set up as a votive offering to his native city a statue of *Dikaiosynē*, in honor of his son, *Eumenes*, because the latter was serving as *agoranomos*, aedile, or superintendent of the market. *Diogenes* himself had served as "priest of the four provinces in Antioch," which is distinguished from Gerasa, "Antioch on the Chrysorrhoas," as "the metropolis."¹²¹ Father and son, it will be noticed, have good Greek names, but that of the previous generation is Semitic. The name *Emmeganes* (?) is unexplained, although it has been found in several inscriptions in Syria and Palestine. It has been found elsewhere at Jerash also, but as a mere graffito, scratched vertically on one of the columns of the *Artemis Temple*.¹²²

Votive offerings which mention *Dikaiosynē* are by no means unknown elsewhere. In a considerable number of instances she is identified with *Isis*,¹²³ and it is possible to see in this inscription, as in the preceding, a hint of Egyptian influence. But the conclusion by no means is inevitable. *Dikaiosynē*, like *Tyche* and *Nemesis*, was one of the popular personifications of the Hellenistic age. It is often difficult to distinguish her from *Dikē* and *Nemesis* and *Adrasteia*. What special circumstances led to the choice of this goddess in a particular instance cannot be ascertained, but in the case of a superintendent of buying and selling a reminder of the overruling power of "Righteousness" was almost too obviously appropriate.

¹²¹ No. 116 (Jones): 'Αγαθὴ Τύχη. ἔτους βπρ' [ὑπὲρ] / τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σωτηρίας / Διογένης Ἐμμεγάνου ἱερασάμενος / τῶν τεσσάρων ἐπαρχείων ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ / τῇ μητροπόλει ἑξαλμα Δικαιοσύνης / ὑπὲρ Εὐμένους τοῦ υἱοῦ τῇ πατρίδι / ἀνέθηκεν ὃ ἐπηγυέλαιτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ / Εὐμένους ἀγορανομούντος.

¹²² No. 257, *QS* 1028, p. 190, VIII, 5.

¹²³ Ditt., *Syll.*, 1131 and n. 2; *CIA* 3, 203; cf. Ditt., *OGI* 83, 7; *CIG* 3544. See art., a. v. by Waser in Pauly-Wissowa; Jane Harrison, *Themis*, ed. 2, 1927, p. 528; R. Hirtzel, *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 146, n. 2, and 149, n. 3, where he notes connections of *Dikaiosynē* with the underworld and death.

Isis and Neōtera Isis

The lonely appearance of Isis in a single text is significant. Clearly her worship never became popular at Gerasa as it did in many parts of the Roman Empire. When she does appear, it is not singly and in her own right, but merely as an appendage to Sarapis. The text, which records the dedication of statues of "Zeus Helios great Sarapis, Isis, and Neōtera of the cotemplated gods,"¹²⁴ is self-evidently from a temple which gave full expression to the syncretistic tendencies of the Imperial period. The dedication "to Zeus Helios great Sarapis" is as common as those to Artemis Lakaina, Nemesis, and Dikaiosynē are uncommon. The absence at Jerash of other dedications to Isis and of her identification in this one with other deities, suggesting as it does her want of popularity, indicates that the dedications to Nemesis and Dikaiosynē are not to be written down to her account. Certainly there is no evidence that Isis was of importance in Gerasene religion.

Neōtera, the "more recent," or "younger" goddess who appears in the same inscription, is surely not Nephthys.¹²⁵ To be sure the reading is not Νεωτέρας 'Ισιδας as Brünnow once wished to restore the line, but Brünnow was certainly right as to the meaning.¹²⁶ The word is used of an apotheosized member of the Imperial family.

The use of νέος and νέα or νεωτέρα of emperors or empresses who were identified with a well known deity was quite common. At Athens Mark Anthony was hailed as "God new Dionysos," a term of adulation which had already been a part of the name of Ptolemy XIII Auletes.¹²⁷ A Cyzicene inscription honors "the new Helios Gains Caesar Augustus" and mentions "the games of the Goddess new Aphrodite Drusilla," and one from Magnesia on the Meander names "Drusilla, new Goddess Aphrodite."¹²⁸ Julia Livilla is a "new Nikephoros" (Athens) in a Pergamene text.¹²⁹ An inscription from

¹²⁴ No. 12 (Lucas); best published by Abel, *RB* 1909, pp. 448 ff.: 'Τὴν σω[τηρί]ας τῶν κυρίων Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα[ρος] Τ. Αἰλίου [Ἀ]δριανοῦ Ἀρτυρείνου Εὐ[σ]εβοῦς Σεβαστ[οῦ] / καὶ τέκνων αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμονοίας καὶ εὐδαιμον[ί]ας βουλῆς [κα]ὶ δῆμον τῆς [κ]υρίας πατ[ρ]ῶς / Διὸς Ἰλλίου μεγάλου Σαράπιδος καὶ Ἰσιδος καὶ Νεωτέρας [τῶ]ν συννάνων θεῶν Μάχως Δημητρίου / τοῦ Μάχου τῇ κυρίᾳ πατρίδι ἐξ ἐπανγελ[ί]ας αὐτοῦ τ[ὰ] ἀγάλματα ἀνέθηκεν σὺν κρηπειδώματ[ι] / καὶ βάσεις αὐτῶν ἔτοις ἐσ' Ξανθικοῦ β[α]σ[ι]λέως, ἱερο[μ]ένου πρώτως καὶ π[ρ]οβαίνοντος τοῦ Μάχου, [ἐπ'] Αἰμιλίου Κάρου πρεσβ[υ]του Σεβαστ[οῦ] ἀντ[ιστ]ρατήγον.

¹²⁵ *Rev. des études grecques*, 1912, p. 68; *ZDPV* 36 (1913), p. 230.

¹²⁶ *Prov. Arab.*, 2, 254, corrected *MDPV* 1910, p. 27.

¹²⁷ *CIA* 2.2.1259, 1; Ditt., *OGI* 186, 8 f.; 187, 2; 191, 2; 193, 9; 741, 2.

¹²⁸ Ditt., *Syll.*, 798, 3, 12; Kern, *Inscriptionen v. Magnesia am Meander*, 156.

¹²⁹ Fränkel, *Inscr. v. Pergamon*, 407 = Ditt., *OGI* 474, 5.

Acraephia (Karditza) of 67 A. D., after copying Nero's proclamation of "liberty" to the Greeks, adds a municipal decree calling him "the Lord of the whole world, . . . new Helios."¹²⁰ A sanctuary for "Aphrodite the younger Goddess" was erected for Plotina in 98 A. D.¹²¹

From Megara comes an inscription honoring "Queen Sabina Augusta, new Demeter, wife of Emperor Hadrian," and one from near Eleusis, referred to the same empress, tells how a "priestess (*ιερόφαντις*) of the Younger (Goddess) has covered the altar of the Younger Goddess with silver."¹²² A Roman inscription records a long poem in which one of the Faustinas, probably the younger, is referred to in the phrase "both the new Demeter (*Δηώ*) and the old Demeter."¹²³ Antinous is called "new God Hermes."¹²⁴ In an inscription from Lacina near Colossae the "new Roman Hera" is Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus.¹²⁵ An inscription from Lampsacus calls her "Julia Sebastē Vesta, new Demeter."¹²⁶ The inscription from Deir el-Qal'a, already noted above, renders "younger Hera" into Latin as "C(elestial) S(ohaemias)," who is clearly the mother of Elagabalus.

These inscriptions are surely enough to prove that the "Younger" goddess of the Jerash inscription can be no other than the Roman empress of the period, or some other leading female member of the Imperial family. The inscription is unambiguously dated in the year 143 A. D. Since Faustina Senior died in 141, if not earlier, it is possible that the inscription refers to Faustina Junior, then presumably quite young.

It is true that *νέα* or *νεωτέρα* *Ἥρα* is extremely rare,¹²⁷ and that in this inscription the word *νεωτέρα* appears by itself, without further definition. Yet the very similar wording of other inscriptions of like import, that from Magnesia for example, is sufficient guarantee that *Ἥρα* is to be supplied in this case. On the other hand, Nephthys rarely or never appears in inscriptions of the Imperial period or in the papyri. The only inscriptional evidence of her cult which I have discovered is an Athenian inscription, "not later than the age of Hadrian," in which the sacrifice of a cock to Osiris and Nephthys is enjoined.¹²⁸ To suppose that she was honored in the otherwise un-Egyptian atmosphere of Gerasa is to adopt the most unlikely alternative.

It is not surprising that the only Gerasene example of the cult of an empress

¹²⁰ Ditt., *Syll.*, 814, 34.

¹²¹ *CIG* 4716 c: *Νεωτέρα θεῖς μεγίστη* . . . *Ἀφροδίτης θεῆς Νεωτέρας* . . .

¹²² *CIG* 435; 1673.

¹²³ *CIG* 6280 = *IGSI* (Kaibel), 1389 I 0.

¹²⁴ *IGSI* (Kaibel), *Add.* 978 a.

¹²⁵ *CIG* 3642.

¹²⁶ *CIG* 3956 b.

¹²⁷ The editor supplies it in *CIG* 4711.

¹²⁸ *CIA* 3, 77, 4 = *CIG* 523: cf. Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.*, 1562, n. 1.

yet discovered should come from the Antonine period, for the architectural evidence indicates that at this time as at no other Gerasa was in the eye of the Imperial household if not of the Emperor himself. Inscriptions witness to the cult of the emperor from the time of Tiberius on. The only other women of the Imperial house mentioned in Jerash inscriptions are the Syrian princesses, Julia Domna and Julia Mamaea. Their origin is reason enough for their appearance here. A special interest on the part of the Antonines, due possibly to connections established during the Bar-Cochba revolt when the Imperial bodyguard and possibly the Emperor Hadrian himself had wintered at Gerasa, explains the sudden prosperity of the little caravan city during the middle of the second century.

The inscription states that the particular syncretistic cult which it represents was inaugurated on the 22nd day of the month Xanthius, possibly on March 21, or 22, the vernal equinox.¹³⁹ The founder, who served as priest of the cult, is a Semite, Malchos, son of Demetrius, grandson of Malchos. The temple in which it was carried on appears to have been located near the "civic center" of Gerasa, the forum in front of the Propylaea to the Artemis Temple, later the "Propylaea Church."

Summary: The Significance of Gerasene Cults

This survey of the discovered data regarding the seven known goddesses of Gerasa reveals various interesting facts. Greek and Hellenistic influence predominates. The last four goddesses discussed, Isis and Neōtera Isis, Nemesis and Dikaiosynē are distinctly characteristic of the Hellenistic and Imperial period. Nemesis and Dikaiosynē are abstractions rather than real deities and in their cases real cults can hardly have existed. The Isis-Sarapis cult was not introduced until near the middle of the second century and by a Semite. The inscription which mentions it, along with others which name Zeus, Helios, Sarapis, and other gods together, shows that Gerasa did not escape the tendencies toward monotheism, or better theocracy, which ruled the empire. It is important to point out, however, that but for the Isis-Sarapis text, and one other which bears a relief of a lion devouring a bull (no. 74),¹⁴⁰ nothing has been found to suggest the presence of any mystery religion at Gerasa. As only a single Mithraic relief has ever been found in Palestine or Syria and monuments suggesting Orphism and other mystery cults are exceedingly rare, it is possible to say that mysticism of this type had but small effect upon the religious atmosphere of this part of the world. Six out of seven goddesses at Jerash had no mystery connections.

¹³⁹ The Gerasene era is clearly fixed, but the calendar most uncertain.

¹⁴⁰ See *Revue archéologique*, ser. IV, vol. V (1905), pp. 48 ff.

Two goddesses are distinctly oriental. Despite her sterling Greek origin, Hera seems to stand only for some indigenous goddess of the 'Anath-Astarte type. The only records we possess of the worship of Hera and her Semitic spouse fall before the last quarter of the first century, that is before Artemis worship appears to have become fashionable, while, if one may trust the meagre data, Urania succeeds Hera in the second century. Whether independent or a variant of Hera, she represents the same type of cult. They are Semitic goddesses dressed in Greek garments.

Artemis, on the other hand, if the suggested interpretations of her epithets are correct, was a thoroughly Greek goddess imported from abroad by Greeks who brought her with them from Sparta. She appears to have been chosen as the official goddess and cultivated by a small ruling group that was chiefly Greek by race and tradition. They placed her temple at the center of the city and promoted her cult, which flourished especially in the Flavian period, perhaps owing to the influence of the powerful family of the Flacci.

Whatever its origin and earlier religious conceptions, the Artemis cult developed certain of the ideas that were fashionable in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. The city's goddess was its Tyche, its "Fortune"; she was a goddess bound by ancestral ties to her worshipper and, therefore, obligated or willing to hear and answer their prayers. One can imagine a great spring festival, an Artemisia, held probably in the month of April, when the people gathered at the sound of the trumpet and thronged in festive procession up the *via sacra* over the great arched bridge that spanned the Chrysorrhoeas, through the triple gateways and colonnades of the civic forum and the magnificent Propylaea into the spacious courtyard about the beautiful temple to do homage to the Tyche of their city.¹⁴¹ Yet she was not the goddess of the majority of the population. The very originality which chose her as tutelary deity, selected the legend for the city's coins, and laid out the magnificent city plan with its isolated temple also set the cult of Artemis apart from the currents of ordinary life. She was the official divinity of a ruling aristocracy, not the trusted goddess of the mass of the population.

It would be fruitless to enter upon a discussion of the history of the various cults in Gerasa before presenting a detailed consideration of the male deities. Enough has been said to show that the discovered documents seem to picture a most lively and interesting series of conflicts, a rise and fall of competing cults, in which Zeus eventually wins. But the final victory went to the truly popular religion, Christianity.

¹⁴¹ Such a festival as is described in Ditt., *Syll.*, 695.



FIGURE 1
Terra-cotta figurine from Tomb 4;
possibly a goddess.



FIGURE 2
Altar set up by Soldier to "Deana."
Inscription No. 104.

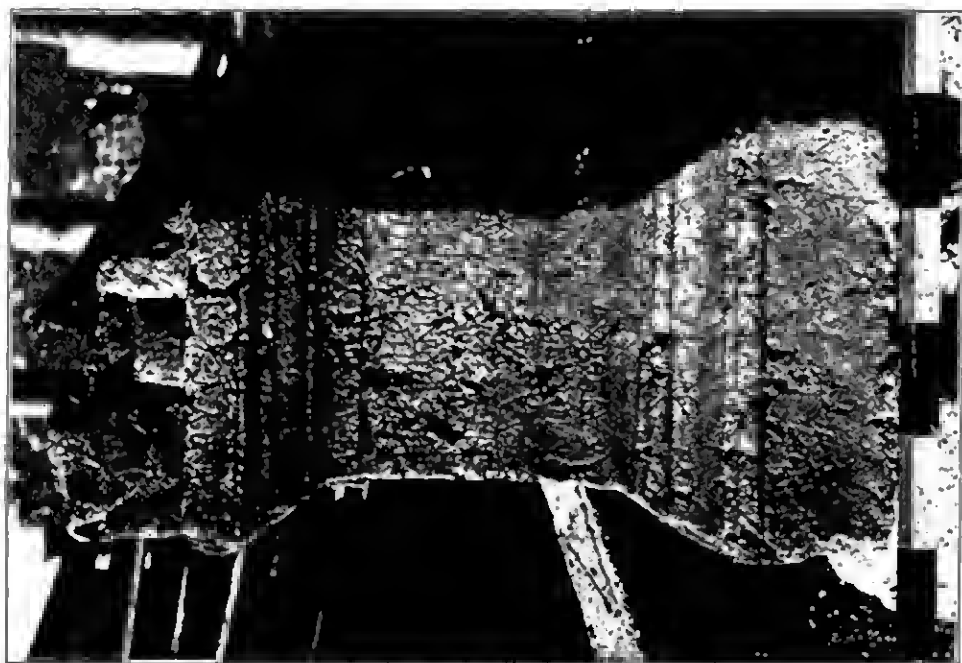


FIGURE 4
Altar to Goddess Urania, Inscription No. 205.



FIGURE 3
Altar to Artemis Kyria, Inscription No. 3.

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